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THE JERUSALEM POST

'86 Banking Blitz
Page 17

Treasures of the Holy Land to go to Japan
Page 4

Mstislav, master cellist
Magazine, page 5

A Jew in Action Directe
Page 8

Battling Benny Begin
Page 7

Major propaganda overhaul to stress softer line on Palestinians

New moderate look for Israel's hasbara

By BENNY MORRIS
Post Diplomatic Correspondent

A thorough overhaul of Israel's propaganda efforts abroad is now in the works, with the new material in preparation highlighting a soft line on the Palestinian problem.

While stress will be placed on Israel's decades-long struggle for peace, the new formulations of Israel's position will include recognition of "the legitimate rights" of the Palestinians (a phrase from the Camp David agreements); recognition of the existence of a "Palestinian people" (as enunciated by former prime minister Peres); and readiness to participate in, or cooperate with, an "international forum" for Middle East peace.

The new publications are expected to call "moderate" phrases from past government and prime ministerial pronouncements rather than to cut new ground, well-placed sources in Jerusalem said yesterday.

The intention, according to these sources, will be to accentuate "the positive" in the Israeli experience and attitudes, rather than the "negative" and anti-peace factors in the Arab world. The overhauled Israeli information efforts, "moving from the defensive to the offensive," will stress the "democratic nature of Israel" and the achievements of Israeli society.

The efforts, it is understood, will see a shift away from the automatic and traditional frontal assault on the Palestine Liberation Organisation. This will perhaps pave the way for a possible change of attitude towards the PLO, should it, in turn, change its attitude towards Israel, terrorism and UN Security Council resolution 242. The PLO will no longer be portrayed as the primary and mortal threat to Israel's existence.

The order to stop disseminating annotated copies of the Palestine National Covenant, explaining that the document's thrust is the destruction of Israel, perhaps should be viewed in this light, although Foreign Ministry director-general for foreign affairs Yossi Beilin has been careful in the past few days to publicly emphasize that his order was aimed at halting "this free Israeli publicity for the PLO and its policies."

Israeli diplomats will nevertheless continue to identify the PLO with "terrorism," when appropriate. But the overhauled information campaign will stress that Syria rather than the PLO poses a threat to Israel's existence.

The ministry's information division head, deputy director-general Dov Shmora, has just been replaced by Colette Avital.

O'Connor sorry for furor over visit

By HAIM SHAPIRO
Jerusalem Post Reporter

Cardinal John O'Connor, who arrived in Jerusalem yesterday from Jordan, expressed his "profound apology" to "the people of Israel and those who govern them" for the furor over his visit to this country.

Clearly referring to the anger in official Israeli and American Jewish circles over what appeared to be his boycott of Israeli government leaders in Jerusalem, O'Connor said he took all the blame for the misunderstanding caused because he had "failed to be sufficiently thorough" in his preparations.

He promised that during the course of his visit he would make "compensations" in the form of "gestures and statements."

Vatican pressure was seen behind the New York cardinal's decision to cancel planned meetings with President Herzog and Prime Minister Shamir.

The cardinal made the apology at the end of a New Year's Mass at St. Saviour's Roman Catholic parish church in the Old City. In his message during the mass, O'Connor quoted both Elie Wiesel and Martin Buber and ended with a prayer to the Lord of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob.

Later, following a meeting with Mayor Teddy Kollek, O'Connor said that he had decided to make the apology spontaneously, during the Mass. "I sat there in the Mass and I saw all the people and all the media and I decided that this would be a one-time opportunity," he added that he had been "thinking over it and praying over it for days."

During the meeting with the mayor, O'Connor said that whatever the demands of his schedule, the two places he would not miss were Yad Vashem and the Western Wall. He also suggested that if there was time, he would like Kollek to show him the newly renovated Damascus Gate area.

In a surprise move, Kollek arranged to call New York Mayor Ed Koch at his home while O'Connor was present. Speaking to Koch, O'Connor joked that he might not return to New York. "I'm comparing mayors," he said.

Kollek also explained that Jerusalem would remain Israel's undivided capital, and said that in a few years Christians should come to the city under Israeli jurisdiction for a special celebration of 2,000 years of their faith.



Cardinal O'Connor with Mayor Kollek in Jerusalem yesterday. (P. Tiktiner/Media)

In his sermon yesterday, O'Connor explained that January 1 is also the World Day of Peace as proclaimed by Pope John XXIII, and he devoted much of his message to a general call for equality and human dignity. But he also issued a specific appeal to terrorists to desist from violence, "even if your objectives are just."

The prelate made it clear that his words were intended for a wider audience than those present, when he referred to the "magnificent array of the press" who he hoped would convey his message further.

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 2)

Peretz digs in heels

By ASHER WALLFISH and SARAH HONIG

Interior Minister Yitzhak Peretz, the Shas Party leader, dug in his heels yesterday and told Prime Minister Shamir there was no question of him handing his portfolio to a cabinet colleague for a few days, so that he could take it back again after somebody else had registered Reform convert Shoshana Miller as Jewish.

Peretz went to see Shamir at the Prime Minister's Office, at Shamir's request, and told him that the problem of regulating conversions to Judaism was far more important than the matter of which minister held which portfolio; according to a source in Peretz's office.

On Wednesday Peretz announced in the Knesset that he was resigning.

Deputy A-G wants GSS men reinstated

Deputy Attorney-General Yehudit Karp has called for the reinstatement of the three Shin Bet (General Security Service) officers who exposed the Shin Bet crimes connected with the April 1984 bus hijack.

If reinstatement is not possible, Karp declared in a letter sent yesterday to Attorney-General Yosef Harish, the three should be given public recognition and thanked for their actions.

In her letter, Karp also asked Harish to speak out in defence of the three deposed officials.

Copies of the letter were sent to the justice ministry and the state attorney.

Karp was on the original team, headed by then-attorney-general Yitzhak Zamir, which in February-March 1986 debriefed the three officers after they alleged that Shin Bet chief Avraham Shalom had ordered the killing of two Arab terrorists caught during the bus attack and the subsequent cover-up. She was also the



Yehudit Karp. (Ackerman)

U.S. investigators seek missing \$2m. paid by Iran

By WOLF BLITZER
Jerusalem Post Correspondent

WASHINGTON — Congressional investigators have been unable to locate about \$2 million of the \$4 million paid by Iran late last October for the last shipment of 500 TOW anti-tank missiles taken from Israeli stocks just before the release of American hostage David P. Jacobson. The Washington Post reported yesterday.

The paper said that an unidentified Iranian contact deposited \$4 million in a Swiss bank account set up by Teheran. One payment of \$2,037,000 was made into a Swiss bank account controlled by the CIA before the TOW missiles were shipped from Israel to Iran on October 26, according to the report.

IDF seeks 'non-lethal' riot control equipment

By JOEL GREENBERG

The IDF is working "intensively" to develop more effective non-lethal riot-control equipment, following the recent spate of shootings of Palestinian demonstrators in the administered territories, a senior military source said yesterday.

The source said the efforts were directed at improving current riot-control equipment used by the army as well as protective gear worn by soldiers. The army currently uses rubber bullets, tear-gas and water cannon to disperse demonstrators, and soldiers wear helmets for protection.

One reason why troops open fire is the chronic shortage of manpower, which has often resulted in confrontations between small groups of soldiers and crowds of demonstrators, according to the source.

He said that only a few hundred troops are deployed regularly in the West Bank to maintain order. Though their number had been doubled during the recent unrest, he said, groups of four or five soldiers had at times found themselves outnumbered by masses of rock-throwing protesters.

The source said troops had intervened when protesters blocked main roads or disturbed public order, as when Bir Zeit students staged a sit-down strike on a main road last month. He said the army had issued precise standing orders on when to open fire, leaving as little discretion as possible to the soldiers.

He said soldiers could open fire in three instances: when attacked with lethal instruments, such as guns, knives or explosives; when in imminent danger; when trying to stop a

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 4)

STABBING

Two night watchmen at The Jerusalem Post Building in the capital's Romema neighbourhood were stabbed late last night by unknown assailants who made off in a car registered 361360.

because he could not in all consciences obey the High Court ruling to register Miller as Jewish. The 30-day deadline the court imposed expires on Monday.

Peretz's resignation will take effect on Tuesday at the earliest.

Shamir asked Peretz yesterday which other portfolio, if any, he would consider accepting, assuming he did not remain interior minister.

Peretz's aides gave the impression he did not answer, but suggested he might accept the conversion Shamir several times.

Peretz said the Likud minister would stay in the coalition and Peretz would stay in the coalition and Peretz would stay in the coalition.

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 5)

'Deliberately inciting people and misleading them'

Nissim lashes critics of plan

By MICHAEL YUDELMAN and AVI TEMKIN
Jerusalem Post Reporters

TEL AVIV — Finance Minister Moshe Nissim yesterday lashed out against those attacking his economic reform programme, charging them with spreading false information.

Vice Premier Shimon Peres said yesterday he was confident that a package deal between the Histadrut, the government and the private sector would be reached soon. Peres said during a tour of Project Renewal neighbourhoods in Jerusalem that there is still no agreement on some important parts of the package deal. "It might take us a week, but an understanding is essential," he said.

In a drastic change of style and tone, the usually soft-spoken Nissim attacked both manufacturers and the Histadrut (without mentioning the latter by name), blasting their criticism and challenging them to come up with a better economic programme. Nissim was addressing a Contractors' Club meeting in Tel Aviv.

"Those who attack the economic plan and turn the public against it are deliberately inciting people and misleading them. It is not a programme of decrees but of growth."

Nissim was especially critical of those who persuaded disabled army veterans and war widows that the plan would harm them.

He stressed that, while certain individuals might be hurt by the programme, no groups would be harmed. Harming certain individuals was unavoidable if the distortions in the present tax system were to be eliminated, he said.

A family with an income of NIS 500 a month, Nissim continued, will find that its benefits increase with the number of children it has. Workers with advanced training funds will also benefit from the economic programme, he stressed.

"Sometimes a small wage reduction, to help reduce inflation, can make a real wage rise possible for workers who increase their production," he said.

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 7)

The White House
Who's the boss?

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Airborne, but a rough ride ahead for the Lavi

The Lavi's maiden flight Wednesday afternoon was an undisputed milestone in the aircraft's development. It failed, however, to negate some of the very serious questions that have begun to cloud the fighter's future.

Within a week, Pentagon official Dov Zakheim, who has long claimed that the Lavi is uneconomical from an Israeli economic point of view, will be arriving here with concrete alternative proposals that will apparently provide answers to both Israel's operational and industrial needs.

Some of Zakheim's original predictions, specifically those relating to the production costs of the plane, seem to be coming true. Labour costs, originally estimated by the Israel Aircraft Industries to be \$24 per hour, have risen to over \$37, due to the creeping rise in value of the shekel against the dollar. The three month delay in the execution of the maiden flight — originally scheduled for September 16 — has also damaged IAI production schedule forecasts.

More serious than the threat from Zakheim, which affects the \$300m. provided to the programme by the U.S. annually, is growing opposition to the aircraft within the Israeli defence establishment. While there is a healthy regard for the plane's operational capabilities, the new budgetary realities of recent months, coming at the end of four years of consecutive cuts in the defence budget, have cast a dark shadow over the aircraft's continued production.

This doubt has now affected the highest echelons of the defence establishment and is based on the following factors:

Given the total number of aircraft now said to be needed by the Israel Air Force, the overall unit cost per fighter will be around \$50m. — the same price as the F-15, and double the price of the F-16. This calculation is based on the total development and production cost of the Lavi divided by the final number of aircraft to be produced by the year 2010.

By 1995, the IAF will need an interim "front-line" aircraft since its F-16s will be 20 years old, and its F-15s 25 years old. And the Lavi will not be fully operational by then.

Before the IAF receives its first operational squadron of Lavi fighters, another \$4 billion will have to be invested in the programme. In other words, a huge annual investment from a diminishing defence budget.

The purchasing of an American aircraft, however, requires only a small down payment (around 10 per cent) with the bulk of cash being paid only on delivery. This would free \$550m. per year for the local defence budget.

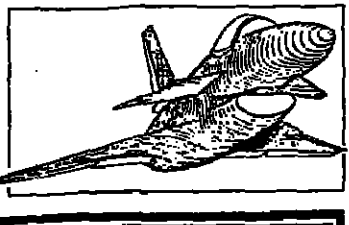
Not only is the local defence budget diminishing, but so is the real value of the American aid package. In 1980 constant dollars, the current \$1.8 billion is in fact worth \$900 million. According to defence experts, with over half of this going on the Lavi exclusively, Israel will not be able to maintain the minimal order of battle it needs to deter its enemies.

Weighing against the project being put on ice is the fact that over seven years and \$1.2 billion have already been invested in the Lavi, and the fate of thousands of technicians and engineers depend on the venture. Officials at the IAI, the Lavi's prime contractor, continue to insist that despite current difficulties, the IAF will not be able to procure a better plane cheaper, and that those counselling the cancellation of the project "are mortgaging the future for transient current benefits."

Moreover, they claim, to cancel the Lavi now would not only mean hundreds of millions of dollars in punitive payments to subcontractors, but the end of any chance of making the plane a joint Israel-U.S. project, as is currently thought possible given the interest of Grumman, a major U.S. aerospace company. The American Navy, it is argued, will be looking for a new plane with the Lavi's basic qualities at exactly the time the Lavi will be operational, thus opening new horizons for Israeli industry.

But these arguments have begun to sound hollow given the budgetary realities facing the Israeli defence establishment and the attractive alternatives that Dov Zakheim is expected to bring with him.

If his plans include an American guarantee to cover any punitive payments incurred in the cancellation of the Lavi, a solution for Israeli industry affected by the cancellation of the project, and an operational answer for the IAF, then the Lavi's future is bleak indeed.



ANALYSIS
HIRSH GOODMAN

Hanukka is a Time to Remember Raoul Wallenberg!
Raoul Wallenberg is Alive!

In a letter to his mother dated May, 1978, Raoul Wallenberg says: "My dear and beloved Mother, Permit me to turn to you, my own dear Mother, for the first time in 33 years. I crave to embrace and kiss you endlessly. But, my dearest, it has not fallen to my lot to be with you..."

This extract is but one of the many deeply moving documents and letters in "RAOUL WALLENBERG IS ALIVE!" the amazing and heart-rending autobiography of the former KGB officer who had contact with Wallenberg in the Wrangel Island prison camp in 1960-62. The book proves that Wallenberg is still alive, and it is one of the most important and revealing works on this tragic period.

RAOUL WALLENBERG IS ALIVE! is due to appear this month. It will be published by the RESCUE PUBLISHING COMPANY, POB 3576, JERUSALEM, TEL. 02-525353. All rights still available.

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FRANKFURT	2	6	10	Cloudy
GENEVA	2	6	10	Cloudy
HELSINKI	-4	7	10	Cloudy
HONGKONG	14	22	27	Cloudy
JERUSALEM	13	25	28	Cloudy
LONDON	4	9	13	Cloudy
LYON	4	9	13	Cloudy
MADRID	2	6	10	Cloudy
MONTREAL	-2	2	6	Cloudy
NEW YORK	2	6	10	Cloudy
OSLO	-4	4	11	Cloudy
PARIS	2	6	10	Cloudy
PRAGUE	9	12	15	Cloudy
ST. LOUIS	17	22	26	Cloudy
STOCKHOLM	-13	9	15	Cloudy
TORONTO	3	7	11	Cloudy
TOKYO	2	6	10	Cloudy
VIENNA	8	12	16	Cloudy
ZURICH	3	7	11	Cloudy

*For the latest weather conditions contact Swissair.

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THE WEATHER

Forecast today: partially cloudy, rain in north and centre.
Outlook for Shabbat: partially cloudy, may rain in north.

	Yesterday's	Yesterday's	Today's
	High/Low	High/Low	High/Low
Jerusalem	42/14	44/14	44/14
Golan	39	4-13	10
Nahariya	43	7-17	15
Safed	45	5-11	8
Haifa Port	43	4-17	15
Tiberias	71	7-16	15
Nazareth	50	8-16	15
Afula	54	4-19	16
Shomron	43	5-15	13
Tel Aviv	65	8-18	16
B-G Airport	62	6-17	16
Jericho	39	6-20	18
Gaza	71	8-17	16
Beersheba	47	4-16	15
Eilat	27	7-21	21

SOCIAL & PERSONAL

Max Silverstone, honorary secretary of the Israel, Britain and the Commonwealth Association, has been made a Member of the Order of the British Empire, Overseas Section.

"A Bouquet of Mathematics," a two-day symposium in honour of the 75th birthday of Weizmann Institute Prof. Joseph Gills, closed yesterday at the institute's campus. Participants were leading mathematicians from Australia, France, the U.S. and Israel.

David (Heinz) and Ruth Bar-Levi (nee Malinowski) wish to thank all relatives and friends who attended their golden wedding anniversary party and sent their congratulations, contributions and presents on this occasion.

Marriage

KOHN-DEITCHER. - Yossie and Rebecca Deitcher and Debbie Resnick of Montreal announce the marriage of their daughter, Ilana Ruth, to Avraham Nahman, son of Moshe and Barbara Kohn of Jerusalem, in Jerusalem on Kislev 28-December 29. The grandparents are Itzhak and Rivka Resnick of Montreal and Mary Shalowitz of Fond du Lac, Wisconsin.

1986 road accidents increase by 13%

1986 saw a 13 per cent increase in the number of serious road accidents, Israel TV reported last night. There were some 14,400 accidents in which people were injured last year compared with 12,761 in the previous year. The number of injured rose by about 3,000 to 21,000 in 1986. These are the highest accident and casualty figures recorded since 1980, according to the TV report.

Train sabotaged

RAMLE (Itim). - A freight train was derailed near the Nesher cement plant here early yesterday. No one was injured in the incident, which was apparently due to sabotage. Fatah's Force 17 claimed responsibility for the incident from Beirut, saying it had blown up a train from Jerusalem and caused many casualties. The police found no signs of an explosion, but discovered that six screws holding one of the tracks in place had been removed.

Skiing season opens

Over 10,000 people flocked to Mt. Hermon in the last few days to play in the snow during the Hanukka holiday. The skiing season officially opened yesterday, when the snow was 60 cm. deep. (Itim)

Congratulations to AMIT HAYUN on first place in the Neve Ya'acov Tennis Championship

HOME AND FOREIGN NEWS

No new price lists

Retailers confused as shoppers swarm

By MICHAEL YUDELMAN
Jerusalem Post Reporter

Confusion reigned at car agencies and electrical appliance shops yesterday as crowds poured in to take advantage of the new customs reductions - only to discover that the new price lists had not yet reached the retailers.

Merchants and salespeople at the Ayalon Canyon in Ramat Gan were no less confused than the swarms of would-be consumers who filled their shops. The shopping complex was packed and it was hard to find space in the huge parking lot. "We don't know what to tell people," a salesperson at the Shekem department store said. The shop's electrical appliance department was crowded for the first time in weeks. Most customers inquired about microwave ovens, washing machines, dryers and dishwashers.

Customers interested in Israeli products also decided to postpone

their purchases until the prices of imported products are known. Most people said they would come again in a few days' time.

"I think people haven't realized yet that they're being deceived," said a young man at the radio counter. "The purchase tax will go up at the same time, so the final reduction will not be significant."

Ken Schachter adds:

Under the new government price list, the most expensive Subaru, a four-door 1600 GL will now cost \$26,116, excluding VAT and deposit. Since Japanese-made imports do not benefit from the customs reductions extended to those from the EC, the Subaru, which costs \$11,051 without taxes, will have a higher purchase price than a sporty Alfa Romeo 1.5 Sprint which is considered a better car. The Alfa, without taxes, costs \$1,113 more than the Subaru, but the purchase price will be \$319 less.

Negev detective is robber suspect

By BRADLEY BURSTON
For The Jerusalem Post

BEERSHEBA. - Negev police have expressed shock at the arrest of a "legendary" senior detective suspected of participating in an Eilat hotel robbery.

Detective Eli Stern, 33, appeared on Wednesday in the Beersheba District Court on charges of stealing \$42,000 and jewelry from Eilat's King Solomon Hotel.

Also indicted was Stern's alleged partner in the October robbery, hotel security chief Amir Butanaro. Last week, after reportedly confessing that he and Stern had taken the valuables from the hotel safe, Butanaro tried to hang himself but was saved by prison staff.

Negev police commander Haim Ben-Iyoun told reporters yesterday: "We are all in shock. Stern was one of the area's finest officers, and his alleged role in the theft has caused us great emotional upheaval."

Last May, the Beersheba weekly Sheva published an interview with

Stern in which he said: "In my view, no one is above the law. Crime is an eternal, universal phenomenon, as old as humankind. As long as criminals and motives exist, society must be on its guard."

Wizo facilities closed

Jerusalem Post Staff

TEL AVIV. - All Wizo day-care centres, offices and other facilities, will be closed today because workers have not been paid their salaries.

Management says payment will not be made before January 5; the staff committee says employees will return to work only when they're paid.

Meanwhile, the dispute with the day-care workers has not been resolved. If there is no breakthrough by the time the other Wizo staff return to work, day-care centres will open on Sundays, Tuesdays and Thursdays at 10 a.m., and on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays at nine.

O'CONNOR

(Continued from Page One)

In his sermon yesterday, O'Connor explained that January 1 is also the World Day of Peace as proclaimed by Pope John XXIII, and he devoted much of his message to a general call for equality and human dignity. But he also issued a specific appeal to terrorists to desist from violence, "even if your objectives are just."

The prelate made it clear that his words were intended for a wider audience than those present, when he referred to the "magnificent array of the press" who he hoped would convey his message further. Quoting Psalm 137, "If I forget thee, oh Jerusalem," he noted that there was hardly a more appropriate place for a message of peace than Jerusalem, holy to "three great monotheistic religions."

"Many of the problems facing the world seem insoluble, yet if we insist that peace is possible, we can bring progress," he said. O'Connor cited a moving passage from Nobel Peace Prize-winner Elie Wiesel's first book, *Night*, in which the author describes his father's death in Buchenwald. "His last word was my name, a summons to which I did not reply," he quoted Wiesel as saying. "Elie Wiesel shows us the alternative. We can sense the pain, the desolation of the innermost secrets of his own heart, the horror of rejection of human dignity."

"Had the world responded to the cries of the victims of Nazi oppression?" he asked. "Does the world respond now?" to the cries of the victims of oppression and hunger, the old, the rejected, "the unborn children in their mother's wombs?" "Will terrorists respond to this message?" O'Connor continued, issuing a call to the advocates of terror to "turn away from the violence of your soul, even if your objectives are just." It was, he said,

an appeal to all terrorists, "wherever you are."

The cardinal also cited one of Buber's Hassidic tales in which an elderly man, though ill, jumps up to show how the Baal Shem Tov jumped and danced, and thereupon is cured. The story illustrates, O'Connor said, the value of faith.

At the beginning of his message, O'Connor referred to the fact that earlier in the day he had crossed the Allenby Bridge from Jordan: "Yesterday, in Amman, I could say 'Next year in Jerusalem.'"

A Jerusalem Catholic source said later that the cardinal's message had put his visit in its proper perspective. Referring to reports of American Jewish and official Israeli anger that O'Connor was not meeting with more Israeli officials, the source said: "One cannot possibly interpret the office and journey of a cardinal in terms of politics."

Yesterday afternoon, the local Catholic community gave an elaborate welcome to the visiting prelate. Dragonets with staffs and scouts with drums formed a guard of honour as he made his way on foot, virtually besieged by press and TV photographers, to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. A member of the cardinal's entourage admitted that "we have never seen anything like this before."

Old City policemen stood by apparently helpless as photographers shoved dignitaries aside; but O'Connor seemed to be enjoying himself as he smilingly responded to calls from local residents and tourists.

Inside the dimly lit church, which holds the traditional tomb of Jesus, more crowds greeted him as he paused briefly for prayer at the tomb itself and at other points of devotion.

O'Connor is due to meet with the families of Israeli soldiers missing in Lebanon, and with Religious Affairs Minister Zevulun Hammer.



Vice Premier Shimon Peres meets residents of Katamonim yesterday during a tour of Project Renewal neighbourhoods in Jerusalem. At right is local activist Yamin Suissa. (Rahamin Israeli)

Told friends he would swim to U.S.

Kibbutznik may have drowned in Canada

By WALTER RUBY
Jerusalem Post Correspondent

NEW YORK. - Police believe that Amnon Reiser, a 24-year-old kibbutznik, may have drowned in the icy St. Clair River two weeks ago while trying to cross illegally from Canada into the U.S.

Reiser had lived and worked illegally in Los Angeles for nine months before returning home to Kibbutz Tzora last August after his father had a heart attack. When he applied for a visa to return to the U.S., the U.S. Embassy in Tel Aviv turned him down. According to police sources, Reiser informed friends in London that he planned to swim across the river between Ontario and Michigan to return to Los Angeles.

Reiser was last seen in Toronto on December 17. His body has not been found, but a bus ticket to Sarnia, Ontario - a small town directly across the river from the U.S. - was found in a backpack belonging to him which Michigan police fished from the river on December 20.

Deputy police chief Edward Kidder of Marquette, Michigan thinks it likely that Reiser "met with misfortune," probably on the night of December 18. He theorizes that Reiser either drowned or was robbed and murdered by someone he paid to smuggle him across the river by boat.

Sharon Toole of Toronto, at whose home Reiser stayed on the night of December 16, said that the Royal Canadian Mounted Police in Sarnia told her they believed Reiser had managed to get across the river and is now at large in the U.S. The RCMP could not be reached for immediate comment.

Meanwhile, Motti Arad, a Kibbutz Movement emissary in New York who is also a member of Kibbutz Tzora, said that neither the U.S. nor the Canadian police are expending sufficient energy to locate Reiser.

Arad said that since Reiser is not a citizen of either country, "the

police might just put his name on a missing persons list and say they are doing all they can." Arad said that Israeli police must press their U.S. and Canadian colleagues to make a serious effort to locate Reiser.



Amnon Reiser

PERETZ

(Continued from Page One)

stay in the cabinet as interior minister, because the relationship between the two parties was important. Peretz said that while he appreciated the Likud's anxiety to keep the alliance with Shas whole, he was not obliged to compromise on his principles. Peretz repeated his criticism of the Likud for failing to ensure that the "proposal to record 'former nationality' on identity cards" was approved by the Knesset Law Committee, despite the Likud's commitment to do so.

Coalition chairman Rafi Edri, who is also Alignment faction chairman, phoned Peretz and urged him to withdraw his resignation. One of the minister's aides said that Edri held Peretz's participation in the cabinet to be important because of the ultra-Orthodox Sephardi electorate which he represents. Edri reportedly said: "I shall do all I can to make it possible for you to remain in the cabinet."

Likud figures such as Transport Minister Haim Corfu, MK Dan Meridor, and the head of Shamir's bureau, Tzahi Hanegbi, were in telephone contact with Peretz's bureau several times yesterday, to propose ways of solving the crisis. Knowledgeable sources said it was quite likely that Peretz would do nothing till he meets the Council of Tora Sages, the senior Sephardi rabbinical body, on Monday, at the

Hazon Ovadia yeshiva in Jerusalem, which is headed by former Sephardi chief rabbi Ovadia Yosef, one of the architects of Shas.

Peretz spoke to Yosef by phone yesterday as well as with his second mentor, Rabbi Eliezer Shach, in Bnei Brak, to keep them posted on developments.

A Shas source said that Peretz does not expect the other Orthodox parties, Agudat Yisrael and the National Religious Party, to quit the coalition.

Shas sources said that the one ministry Peretz would like is Housing, currently held by Deputy Premier David Levy. However, Levy is abroad and has not been sounded out on the notion.

Another idea involves a portfolio switch with Labour and Social Affairs Minister Moshe Katsav, who is reported unwilling.

None of the ministers without portfolio are seen as likely candidates to succeed Peretz in the Interior Ministry. Yitzhak Moda'i is unacceptable to Labour, Yosef Shapira cannot be considered because that would give the NRP too many portfolios, and Yigal Hurvitz refuses. Labour would allow Moda'i to take back the Justice Ministry, if Ezer Weizman were given the Interior Ministry, but the Likud does not want to yield one of the portfolios under its quota to Labour.

HU staff taking a pay cut

By BERNARD JOSEPHS
Jerusalem Post Reporter

More than 2,000 Hebrew University staff ranging from senior officials to cleaners, have agreed to take a pay cut to help save the ailing institution.

Agreement was reached yesterday after several months of tough negotiations between the administrative staff and management, conducted against the backdrop of the university's grave financial crisis.

The staff agreed to reduce their salaries by about 6 per cent for the current year. In return they will now work a five-day week. University officials said the cut will be a "considerable help" in reducing financial pressure on the institution, which owes more than NIS 75m.

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University officials said the cut will be a "considerable help" in reducing financial pressure on the institution, which owes more than NIS 75m.

'Prisoners in foreign jails endangered'

Former Prisons Service commissioner Mordechai Wertheimer says that prisoners in foreign jails are often in physical and even mortal danger.

Wertheimer, an observant Jew, says this in an affidavit to be submitted to the High Court of Justice on Sunday on behalf of William Nakash, when the court will hear petitions against Nakash's release.

An affidavit was also submitted to the court yesterday by Rabbi Shimon Ben-Zion, who teaches prisoners at Tel Mond prison, countering psychologist Carl Frankenstein's claim that Nakash is a psychopath.

Justice Minister Avraham Shari based his decision not to extradite Nakash to France on the ground that his life would be in danger there. (Itim)

No more Italian requests on Vanunu

Post Diplomatic Correspondent
Italy has not asked Israel for further clarifications in the Mordechai Vanunu affair and Israeli officials do not expect Rome to do so.

Sources in Jerusalem yesterday said that the "informal" clarifications transmitted to Italy by Israeli Ambassador Mordechai Drori last week during his meeting with the Italian foreign ministry director-general were probably sufficient.

But Italy's attitude will probably depend on the results of the internal Italian investigation into Vanunu's allegation that he was kidnapped by Israeli agents in Rome on September 30.

NISSIM

(Continued from Page One)

evity," Nissim argued. The minister then turned on the manufacturers, who oppose the programme because it doesn't provide sufficient benefits for their sector.

Nissim stressed that 40 per cent of the country's exports are generated by services and commerce - tourism, computers, agriculture and so on.

"The manufacturers complain that the economic programme will also help beauty parlours. We have a distorted tax system. So maybe beauty parlours will also benefit from the general tax reduction. So what? We're offering tax relief to individuals too, aren't we?"

It's wrong to prefer one sector to another, and the new programme will equalize them, Nissim added.

A problem in the economic plan, Nissim conceded, is that it does not boost export profitability. But he said this should be solved by the manufacturers and the Histadrut rather than by the government.

Nissim blasted the manufacturers for asking the government to finance the last cost-of-living increment, which cost some NIS 400 million six months ago.

"Export profitability was reduced because the manufacturers raised their employees' wages. This must not become a regular system. Where are we going to find money for this every few months? The government alone cannot solve this problem," Nissim stated.

Peres and Nissim met last night with representatives of the self-employed and the heads of Hevrat Ha'ovdim to discuss the proposed reforms as well as to hear their reactions to the proposed package deal.

The vice premier said yesterday that the government's priorities should be to work out a package deal, implement the capital market reform and decide on next year's budget. "The tax reform can wait," he said. Nissim, however, is seeking immediate approval of the tax reform.

In a related development, Prime Minister Shamir yesterday came out openly in favour of cutting the defence budget, a step stiffly opposed by the Labour Party. Shamir met with several IDF brigade commanders in his office and told them that such a cut was needed, "if only to avoid complaints by other ministries that the defence budget was not touched."

JONA AMOS LOEWY

Passed away peacefully on December 31, 1986. The funeral will take place at 12 noon, today, Friday, January 2, 1987 at the Nahariya Cemetery.

Deeply mourned by

His wife: Berta
Children: Hannah and David
Sister: Neri Boomfield, and family
Brother: Ariel, and family

JAN-02-87

We will unveil the tombstone of our beloved husband, father and grandfather

MICHAEL RABINOWITZ

on Sunday, January 4, 1987 - 3 Tevet 5747. We will meet at 3:30 p.m. at the entrance to the new Rehovot cemetery.

His wife - Yehudit
His children - Dubbi, Lies, Dunn and Jeannette, Shaul and Patricia and his grandchildren

On the 30th day after the passing of our beloved

ISAAC GINSBERG

There will be a memorial and tombstone unveiling service at 4 p.m. Thursday, January 8, 1987, 7 Tevet, at the Kibbutz Tzora cemetery.

The Family

On the thirtieth day after the passing of our dear

SARA YELLIN

we shall set the stone and hold a memorial service at Har Hamenuhot, Jerusalem, on Sunday, January 4, 1987. We shall meet at 20 Ibn Shaprut St. at 3:00 p.m. or at the parking lot at Har Hamenuhot at 3:30 p.m.

The Family

My beloved wife

ELISABETH SELLA

née Glueck, has left me forever. Ness Ziona, Dec. 26, 1986

Gad Hugo Sella

The Sherman family announces

that the stone setting for the late

ARCHIE SHERMAN

will take place on Sunday, January 4, 1987 at 10:30 a.m. at the Nachlat Yitzhak cemetery in Tel Aviv

We mourn the loss of

BETTY KRANZBERG

Weston, Conn., U.S.A. and send condolences to the Kranzberg-Gat families.

Aharon Doron, Director, Beth Hatefutsoth American Friends of Beth Hatefutsoth

On the first anniversary of the passing of our beloved husband, father and grandfather

MORDECHAI HARARY

we shall hold a memorial service on Sunday, January 4, 1987 (3 Tevet 5747), at 2:30 p.m. at Shikun Vatikim cemetery, Netanya, section 7, area 2. A bus will leave from our home, 18 Dankner St., at 2 p.m.

Wife: Yehudit Harary
Daughter: Ilana Ostroff and family

Sabotage suspected in hotel disaster

100 feared dead in Puerto Rico blaze

SAN JUAN. — A fire preceded by explosions raged through four floors of a luxury beachfront hotel and casino packed with New Year's vacationers. Officials said yesterday 40 bodies had been recovered, but that they feared as many as 100 people perished in the blaze.

More than 100 others were injured on Wednesday at the 21-story 450-room Dupont Plaza Hotel as the flames sent thick black smoke over San Juan's tourist strip. Officials said the cause was under investigation, but that arson could not be discounted.

"I don't rule out the possibility of a criminal hand [in the fire], because it occurred after negotiations with the union were cut off," Commonwealth governor Rafael Hernandez Colon said.

A spokesman for the governor said yesterday that 18 people remain hospitalized in critical condition. Most of the 109 people hospitalized on Wednesday were released after being treated for smoke inhalation and minor injuries, said Dr. Carlos Gomez, the chief of staff at the Central Medical Centre.

More than 100 guests were rescued from the hotel roof and balconies by helicopters. Municipal guards climbed balcony by balcony up 18 storeys to lead people to the roof, said Mayor Baltazar Corrada del Rio. The hotel has a capacity of 800 guests, and was fully booked.

Police and rescue workers entered the hotel shortly after daybreak yesterday to resume the search for bodies.

"They [bodies] are all over the place," one official said. "Some are sitting in chairs. Most of them were killed where they were."

On Wednesday, helicopters lifted terrified guests from the roof of the hotel as dense black smoke billowed around the building.

As the helicopters pulled up survivors in rescue nets, a white pillowcase was tossed to rescuers from the 17th floor with these words scribbled on it:

"We cannot get up to the roof because of the smoke. We are three Danish women. One of us is pregnant. Please help."

Some guests on upper floors called for help from their windows or made their way to the roof.

Some climbed down fire ladders and others tied sheets together and used them to slide down from their balconies.

"I was convinced I had another five minutes to survive and I hoped they [rescuers] would come," said American Juris Brenson, who was in his room on the 12th floor when the fire broke out.

Brenson said that he, his wife and their 12-year-old daughter escaped to the roof, where they were picked up by a police helicopter after a wait he estimated at longer than half an hour.

"I lost hope. My wife was lying on the roof. I thought we were dying," he said.

On the beach outside the hotel, victims lay sobbing and groaning on stretchers.

"My wife is inside, get her out," one man begged.

Police said officials would come to the hotel to examine bodies of the victims and verify identities.

Last night badly charred bodies lay in green plastic bags on the gutted west side of the building near the pool terrace, awaiting autopsy and identification. (AP, Reuters)

5,000 Peking students defiant

PEKING (AFP). — At least 3,000 students demonstrated in central Peking yesterday chanting "We want liberty" and "We want democracy," in defiance of official threats of severe punishment, eyewitnesses said.

Foreign correspondents saw police take at least 20 people away in police buses, and had earlier seen them detain about a dozen people.

Another correspondent said he saw police hit two demonstrators.

Yesterday's protest followed a spate of student demonstrations calling for more democracy and freedom which have swept more than a dozen Chinese cities in the past three weeks.

Although it involved fewer people than protests in Shanghai, it was more significant because it took

place in the capital's Tiananmen Square, the scene of historic gatherings in contemporary Chinese history, analysts said.

The almost three-hour demonstration in freezing temperatures here began at mid-morning when several hundred students gathered at the northern end of Tiananmen Square.

Some 700 students spilled onto the square and at least 300 broke through a police cordon to reach the monument to China's Heroes of the People in the centre, a correspondent at the scene said.

Police took video film and still photographs and made loudspeaker appeals urging the demonstrators not to disturb public order.

Some of those who broke through the cordon said that they included

students from all Peking's major universities.

The police managed to prevent about 2,000 students and others from breaching the cordon and channelled the 700 students out of the square, eyewitnesses said.

But the two groups regrouped around nearby Changan Avenue, where several thousand passersby had gathered, and then swung back to the entrance to the Forbidden City at the edge of the square, chanting "press freedom," and waving banners proclaiming "Let us uphold the democratic reforms."

They also sang the *Internationale* and chanted "Hello Deng Xiaoping" and waved banners proclaiming "Let us protect Comrade Xiaoping," a reference to China's senior leader.

Chad forces battle with Libyan troops

N'DJAMENA, Chad (AP). — The government indicated yesterday that its forces have entered northern Chad and battled Libyan troops for the first time since the country was effectively partitioned in 1983.

Radio Chad broadcast a communique from the army high command claiming units of the Chad national armed forces inflicted heavy losses Wednesday on Libyan units in the Zouar region on the southern edge of the arid Tibesti mountains.

The government troops were apparently part of a force of about 1,000 which President Hissene Habre sent north two weeks ago to support the former rebels loyal to ex-president Goukouni Oueddei.

The rebels came under attack from their former Libyan allies December 11 after changing sides.

The government forces were said to have suffered only two men wounded and one vehicle destroyed.

There was no independent confirmation of the fighting.

Habre, in a New Year's broadcast speech to the nation, stressed the lack of adequate and appropriate material and logistic support for the anti-Libyan fighters in the Tibesti region.

Habre said 1986 had been a year in which "all the sons of this nation joined in the defence of the threatened fatherland."

He said that "national reconciliation is now a living reality, and it is a great victory for our country."

Most of the various former rebel groups now have officially or unofficially made peace with his government, he said.



Japanese Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone sits in meditation yesterday while holding a tea bowl during a ceremony marking the New Year at his official residence. (AFP telephoto)

Bonn gov't 'scandalized' by gaffe on Kohl speech

BONN (AP). — The West German government demanded an apology yesterday from a television network that mistakenly broadcast last year's New Year's address by Chancellor Helmut Kohl.

The Kohl government is "scandalized" by the incident, and his spokesman, Friedhelm Ost, does not believe it can be explained by a simple technical mistake, a statement from the Government Press Office said.

West Germany's ARD television network aired the full 10 minutes of the wrong Kohl speech on Wednesday night following the main evening news at 8 p.m.

Later in the evening, ARD broadcast its regrets for the "mixup." The network did not explain how the error occurred.

The other major West German television network, ZDF, broadcast the correct New Year's address by Kohl on Wednesday evening.

In Vatican City Pope John Paul II said yesterday he hopes 1987 will be a year in which mankind overcomes its divisions and "every heart searches for peace."

Leading a mass on New Year's Day, which the Roman Catholic

Church observes as its annual world day of peace, the pope said in his sermon in the packed St. Peter's Basilica that he was greeting the New Year "in the humanity of every man in all the richness and variety of his tribes, nations, races, tongues, cultures and religions."

Americans discarded 1986 and woke up the New Year with the thunder of fireworks, pop of champagne corks and the big band sound of *Auld Lang Syne*, but many also took time to hope for world peace and observe the U.S. constitution's bicentennial.

Numerous communities offered free coffee and rides for over-imbibers. Some cities, like Greensboro, North Carolina, even offered free tow trucks so tipsy motorists could get their cars home.

Before the parties, thousands of people across the nation paused for an hour for observances that coincided with the final day of the UN International Year of Peace.

The New Year got off to a violent start in Britain, West Germany and Italy, as at least seven people were killed and hundreds injured in brawls or firework accidents, and dozens of revellers were arrested.

400 hurt in Iraqi gas attack

TEHERAN (Reuters). — Iraqi forces fired chemical weapons against Iranian positions along north-central war fronts Wednesday, injuring at least 400 men, the national news agency Irna reported yesterday.

It quoted "experts" as saying they believed mustard gas was used.

The agency said about 400 casualties had reached hospitals in Bakh-taran, 120km. behind the lines, by yesterday morning. They included eight doctors and nurses, it said.

Iraq has frequently denied it uses chemical weapons.

Last March, however, it was condemned for using them by the United Nations Security Council after inspection of war zones and examination of victims by UN experts.

Iran says dozens of its soldiers have died of chemical injuries in the past. A pamphlet published by the War Information Headquarters in Tehran lists, with dates, more than 80 Iraqi chemical attacks in the first five and one-half years of the war, which is now in its seventh year.

Iran's last previous accusation that chemical weapons had been used came last week, after an Iranian attack on Iraqi positions along the Shatt Al-Arab border waterway.

Syria foils 'plot' by PLO in Lebanon

BEIRUT. — Syria has foiled a joint PLO and Sunni Moslem fundamentalist New Year's eve plot intended to wrest control of the north Lebanese port of Tripoli from Syria, the daily *An-Nahar* said yesterday. It carried an interview with the Chief of Syrian military intelligence in Lebanon, General Ghazi Kaanan, who said the plot had been "nipped in the bud."

The general said the plot had been planned by fundamentalists with the help of Palestinians loyal to PLO leader Yasser Arafat.

Anglican Terry Waite returning to Beirut

LONDON (AP). — Anglican Church envoy Terry Waite said in an interview broadcast yesterday that he "most definitely" will return to Beirut to continue efforts to free hostages.

But he also said he was thinking of stepping down as the Archbishop of Canterbury's personal envoy this year and doing other work "in the field of international affairs."

Waite, who has travelled in the past year seeking the release of Westerners held hostage by Islamic extremists, told London Broadcasting Corporation radio that the scandal over U.S. arms sales to Iran had complicated his mission.

IN BRIEF

Dutch PM catches thief

ROTTERDAM (AFP). — Dutch Prime Minister Ruud Lubbers on Wednesday night caught two people who had stolen his wife's car radio, chasing them through the city streets and handing them over to the law, Dutch police said.

Lubbers and his son set off in hot pursuit after being told a young man and woman had just broken into the car and ripped out the radio.

The two men tracked them down and cornered them on a tram before police arrived. Police later arrested a 32-year-old man.

Lubbers is becoming something of a regular have-a-go hero — he trapped another miscreant in similarly athletic circumstances six months ago.

Egyptian extremists want minister sacked

CAIRO (AP). — Islamic Fundamentalists yesterday called for the dismissal of Interior Minister Zaki Badr and said his repressive measures were reminiscent of the situation leading to the assassination of President Anwar Sadat.

Pro-Islamic lawyers, relatives of Sadat's assassin, and a controversial preacher held a press conference in which they accused the government of continuing policies of previous regimes and fighting the Islamic trend.

Nazi camp guard dies after 10 days in jail

BERLIN (AFP). — A former guard at the Mauthausen Nazi concentration camp died yesterday in the West German capital, 10 days after the murder of a Polish inmate in 1941, legal sources said.

Otto Heidemann, 74, one of heart and circulation failure, died after being brought to court on a stretcher because he could not stand.

The former guard had been found guilty of trampling the Pole to death. Other murder charges against him were not proven because of a lack of reliable evidence, the court held.

Indian stabbed to death in Durban race violence

DURBAN (AP). — A black mob attacked a train, then rampaged through a caravan park, stabbing to death an Indian youth yesterday. Police fired teargas and birdshot to disperse looters and stonethrowers on a black beach during a New Year's Day of racial violence on the Indian ocean coast.

"At Winklespruit, in the upper south coast, an Indian youth was stabbed to death when commuters on board a train became angry when it stopped too long at a signal," said a statement issued by the South African police some 10 hours after trouble began on the Durban beaches.

"The crowd stoned the train, smashing several windows and then rushed through a caravan park (camping ground) where the youth was stabbed," said the police statement. "Several parked vehicles at the railway station were also damaged."

Seven blacks were injured by the birdshot, according to the police statement issued about 10 hours after the violence began on Clover Leaf Beach, an area designated for blacks near Indian beaches in Durban.

Witnesses reported about 500 blacks had been involved in daylong outbreaks with about 100 Indian sunbathers on the adjoining beaches, sending the crowds surging back and forth as people fled to safety or joined in.

There were an estimated 20,000 people on the beach for blacks, and more on the packed beaches for Indians. Warm weather brought out such huge holiday crowds that the main street through Durban along the coast was closed to all traffic.

Adding to the tension were swarms of bluebottle flies, and 300 people were reportedly treated for stings.

By late afternoon, lifeguards had locked themselves into their offices, one report said. A helicopter, being used for the first time ever for police control on the beaches, flew overhead directing the large concentration of officers to trouble spots.

There were also reports that blacks had begun rampaging at caravan parks near Amanzimtoti, 30 kilometres south of Durban, and that blacks were engaged in fighting at Illovo, a beach town further south.

Soviets jam Reagan's New Year's message

MOSCOW (Reuters). — President Reagan's New Year radio address to the Soviet people was heavily jammed, the U.S. embassy said yesterday, but official Moscow Radio broadcast an edited report of it yesterday morning.

The address, which stressed the importance of human rights and assessed superpower relations more optimistically than did Kremlin leader Mikhail Gorbachev in a New Year

interview, was broadcast in full on Voice of America radio on Wednesday night.

"It was pretty heavily jammed," said a U.S. embassy spokesman who added that Reagan was faintly heard on some frequencies in Moscow and more clearly in Leningrad.

The seven-minute Moscow radio report in Russian ran as the eighth item on only one morning news bulletin.

UFO captured on film by Japanese reporter

TOKYO (AFP). — A local television reporter has succeeded in filming an unidentified flying object (UFO) on the western Japanese coast off the city of Nagasaki, Fuji television of Tokyo said yesterday.

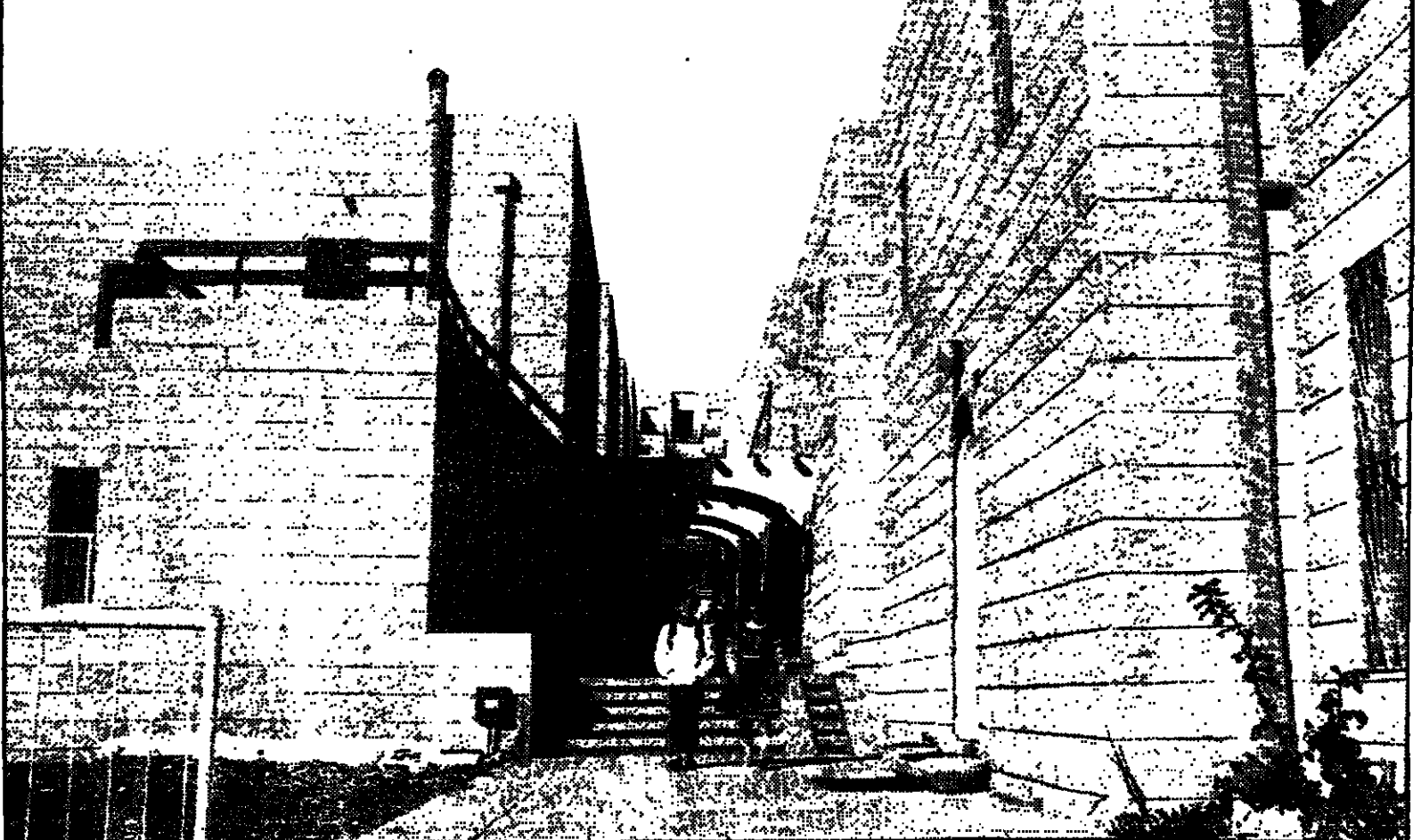
The videotaped film, broadcast yesterday, clearly showed a large bright star-like object moving irreg-

ularly. The film was taken in Fukue on the Goto Islands chain shortly before dawn yesterday, Fuji said.

It quoted the reporter who filmed the UFO as saying that it was like a saucer and moved to and fro at high speed for about half an hour.

It was the second report here this week of a UFO sighting.

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DEBATE OF THE WEEK

Dvorah Getzler

Bulldozed Beduin – Isaiah's verse faces 'matter of law' in Knesset

By DVORAH GETZLER
Post Knesset Reporter

"We unto them that join house to house, that lay field to field, till there be no place, that they may be placed alone in the midst of the earth." That verse from Isaiah 5:vi, quoted by Citizens Rights Movement MK Dedi Zucker, summed up the arguments of six of the seven motions for last Tuesday's agenda on the demolition of Beduin homes in the village of Hawaleh, near Haifa, some 10 days ago.

But for Likud MK Uriel Lynn what was at stake was purely and simply a matter of the law. And it was the law that Interior Minister Yitzhak Peretz, too, invoked in defending the action of the Haifa region authorities under the control of his ministry. (Peretz resigned a day later, refusing to carry out a High Court order of which he disapproved, for reasons of religious conscience.)

Lynn cited chapter and verse from former attorney-general Yitzhak Zamir – "No friend of the Likud" as one Likud MK interjected – that court demolition orders were to be obeyed.

But, Zucker pointed out, Zamir had also said that the existence of the Markovitch Committee, which is investigating the entire problem of illegal Arab building, should be taken into account in considering the demolition of homes.

Lynn, however, insisted: "You cannot always invoke the tragic episodes, the exceptions, the marginal cases. The matter must be seen overall... [the problem] is how to attack the issue far more deeply."

Yet Lynn offered no such overall view, no suggestion of how the matter should be handled.

And that was the trouble, according to Mapam's Mohammed Wartad. He said that he was sure he was expressing widely held Arab views when he wondered "what point there is in such

parliamentary discussion... If the Israeli parliament has thus far failed to solve so painful a problem for an integral part of the State of Israel's population, should not another way be sought, perhaps not so parliamentary, damaging, undesirable, but nevertheless giving expression to [our] despair."

For Wartad, a government that could sit through the night to solve the Shin Bet crisis could also set its mind to a legal solution of the Arab land problem. Pardons could also be granted to "the thousands who have paid fines for building out of dire necessity... and who have... from time to time faced the bulldozers of the building committees under the protection of the police."

Wartad blamed Labour's Edna Solidor for what he termed the "lynching" of Minister-without-Portfolio Ezer Weizman, who had sought to stave off the demolitions.

Labour's Abdel Wahab Darousha, who spoke movingly of the plight of the eight families thrown out to face the elements in mid-winter, wondered whether the demolitions heralded a new, tougher policy. The three huts destroyed had been built in the early 1960s, the five houses between 1977 and 1983. They all stood on land to which the family heads had legal, registered title.

For Darousha, as for Zucker, there was something amiss in the planned location, adjacent to the site of the demolitions, of a Jewish mini-settlement – Noft. Peretz denied this, though other speakers said they had seen the building going up.

Zucker urged that the government not hide behind the law and not invoke the affected families' exemption from military service, as had so often been done in the past. Many Beduin, he pointed out, do serve in the IDF.

But, above all, he wanted to know whether it

was true that Peretz had been asked, just hours before the demolition, by a cabinet colleague, to desist, since only tragedy could come from the action. Was it true, Zucker asked, that Peretz had pleaded that he had been unable to contact the regional officials?

Similar reproaches came from Shimon's Zaidan Atsche, who threw back in the minister's face his inaugural speech to the Knesset, pledging friendship and brotherhood towards Israel's Arab

Where, the Druse MK wanted to know, had Peretz "put out the fires, rather than fuelled them?"

But none of this made an impression on Peretz. The minister went meticulously through the legal justifications for the demolitions, admitting only that – according to a cabinet "understanding" – the Haifa regional authorities would have been equally entitled to hold back on demolition, pending receipt of the Markovitch committee's recommendations.

The land concerned, he said, would never be used for residential building. And, "just look at the state in which we live," he added – the Beduin had been offered alternative building sites but had rejected them.

The nub of the problem for the far left – represented in the debate by the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality's Tawfik Zayyad and the Progressive List for Peace's Mohammed Miani – remained political rather than legal.

But Atsche reflected the other speakers in the Zionist parties when he said: "It is not Israel's Arabs who are acting against the law, but the government of Israel; for a government that provides its citizens with no infrastructure that will permit them to build in a legal manner is a government that has deliberately abandoned them."



Auguste Renoir's "Portrait of M. Lestranguez" above, and Picasso's drawing, "Portrait of an Adolescent," will be on view at the Israel Museum in Jerusalem from January 7. The two works were donated by American art collector Alain Coblenz. The Renoir has not been seen in public for 75 years.



Israel Museum show to Japan

By MEIR RONNEN
Post Art Editor

TOKYO. – The huge Israel Museum show, "Treasures From the Holy Land," now at New York's Metropolitan Museum, will definitely be going to Japan. Shigeharu Morimoto of the Yomiuri Shimbun newspaper has told The Jerusalem Post.

Morimoto is the producer of art exhibitions for the cultural promotion department of Yomiuri, the world's largest newspaper. Yomiuri, which is footing the bill for the project, has a daily circulation of more than 8.5 million. Morimoto said that the show is slated to go on view at the Tokyo National Museum between March 15 and May 8. After that, it will be seen in the Kansai area (central Japan), probably at the Osaka Municipal Museum, between May 21 and July 3. It will be the first major Israel Museum show in Japan.

Morimoto said that he wanted the show in its entirety, including the exhibits from the Rockefeller Museum which for political reasons initially caused the Met to backtrack on its intention to hold the show. (The show at the Met closes next week and will be seen in Los Angeles and Houston before going to Japan.)

The project has the official blessing of Zenji Kaminaga, director of the First Middle East Division of Japan's Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

In order to cover the costs, Yomiuri will try to ensure that a minimum of 3,000 people visit the show daily. Chances of meeting this figure in the Osaka area are slight, as the handsome museum there is somewhat on the periphery of a huge industrial area and less accessible. It had been hoped to hold the Kansai area show at the Kyoto National Museum of Ancient Art, located in the heart of Japan's most cultural and beautiful city, but this venue was previously secured by a rival newspaper hosting a show of treasures from Istanbul's Topkapi Museum.

Negotiations with Yomiuri have been under way since early last summer, when Morimoto visited Israel accompanied by Jiro Sugiyama, curator of the West Asian and Egypt section of the Tokyo National Museum. Sugiyama will be responsible for mounting the show and producing the catalogue.

Both Morimoto and Sugiyama said they welcomed the idea of a special orientation room for visitors to the show that would fill them in on the origins of Judaism and Christianity as well as point up the cross-fertilization of early cultures in the area. As Yomiuri has its own TV station, a video film on the Israeli sites is also under consideration, both for orientation and promotional purposes. Promotion will be nationwide.

Bid to bring doctors to hospitals

By JUDY SIEGEL
Post Science and Health Reporter

A long-sought accord that confers academic status on six hospitals in development areas was signed this week, with the likely result that fewer top physicians will leave these areas to work in the centre of the country.

The accord was welcomed by Health Minister Shoshana Arbeli-Almosino as a "breakthrough" which she had fought to bring about for 15 years, both as an MK and as deputy health minister.

Persistently opposed by the Council for Higher Education and the Haifa Technion, the agreement means that all hospitals in the country are now affiliated with a university or medical school. The hospitals involved are Safad, Nahariya, Poriya (Tiberias), Afula, Hillel Yaffe (Hadera) and Barzilai (Ashkelon).

As of next week, physicians in one of these hospitals will be able to teach and undertake research. They will also be able to apply for academic titles, including professorships, which will entitle them to higher salaries and boost their prestige.

The ministry has undertaken to pay for additional equipment, research facilities and libraries to upgrade the hospitals.

Jewish students caught between white radicals and black anti-Zionists

By ANDY COURT
For The Jerusalem Post

When he's not keeping tabs on racists, Neville Eisenberg, a South African student, often finds himself arguing on campus with black students. They seem to hate Israel as much as the neo-Nazi hate both Jews and Blacks.

South Africa's Jewish students are caught between the anti-Semitism of South Africa's radical right and the anti-Zionism of the blacks, whose cause they support. Their situation is the most extreme example of similar pressures facing Jewish students all over the world, as they grapple with minority status in their own countries and their relationship with Israel.

The World Union of Jewish Students gathering and congress, which ends today in Jerusalem, brought together 1,200 students from over 40 countries to discuss common concerns arising in diverse circumstances.

Over 700 of the students at the gathering were South Africans here to explore the possibilities of aliyah, said Eisenberg, a former chairman of the South African Union of Jewish Students.

The fact that 10 per cent of South Africa's Jewish students visit Israel during their school holidays reflects the extent to which tensions there have caused young people to consider aliyah, he said.

In Austria, students saw in Kurt Waldheim's election as president evidence of anti-Semitism helping a candidate win an election, according to Thomas Stern, head of the Austrian Students' Association.

In the fear felt by Austria's elderly Jews, the students saw a revival of emotions submerged since the Holocaust.

caust. "My biggest fear was that I would make the same mistake that my grandparents' generation made – to miss the last moment when it was possible to leave," Stern said.

The small and relatively prosperous Jewish community of Colombia is more threatened by apathy and assimilation than by anti-Semitism, said Evelyn Drezner, vice president of the student union there.

But potential political upheavals and the kidnapping of wealthy industrialists, many of them Jewish, have made the Colombian Jewish community nervous. Most Jewish families there keep an apartment in Miami, so they can "make aliyah to the States," said Drezner.

Career concerns often conflict with the Zionist ideals of young Americans and Canadians, such as Craig Zetley, a 29-year-old Milwaukee lawyer who's debating whether he can afford to come to Israel.

To work in his profession here, Zetley would have to go through two or three years of clerkship, exams and language study, only to earn \$600 a month – compared with the \$3,000 to \$4,000 he now earns in a private firm. Zetley's friends who have made aliyah have advised him to wait until he has \$100,000 in the bank and then come here, but he knows that the longer he waits, the less likely he is to come.

But there are a few students like Mimi Estrin who decided not to go to law school in her native Canada because she wanted to pursue a career in Israel. "Most people choose their career and then decide whether to come to Israel," Estrin said. "But I'm one of the idealists left over from the Stone Age."

Druse MK wants equal funding for villages

Jerusalem Post Reporter
HAIFA. – Likud MK Amal Nasser e-Din has threatened to resign if the government does not implement the Knesset decision to give the Druse villages and Jewish settlements equal funding.

On January 11 he will begin a four-day hunger strike outside the Prime Minister's Office.

The MK, who comes from Daliat al-Carmel, told The Jerusalem Post that he expects hundreds of dignitaries and ex-soldiers to join him.

The Druse villages, he said, receive only 17 per cent of the funds given to their Jewish neighbours.

Meanwhile, hundreds of Druse from Daliat al-Carmel and Ufiya demonstrated yesterday, for the second time this week, against the Interior Ministry's intention to demolish illegally built houses.

Thousands search for something to do

Just after midnight, at a burger joint half a block away from the Agam Carousel, a young woman in a red dress and a black smock-like jacket slapped a young man who was wearing a pair of brand-new jeans and a zippered sweater.

The sidewalks were as crowded as the beach on a summer morning when pre-army teenagers without jobs get together for a last fling.

The sidewalks were as crowded as they are on Saturday night. Teenagers of all shapes and sizes, in the latest fashions and in just a pair of jeans and a sweater, teenagers in pairs and in packs, roaming back and forth along the sidewalks, seeking something that they would remember as their Sylvester of 1987.

Some, like the young man in the new jeans and zippered sweater, were getting drunk for the first time, which is a way, a teenage thinks, to get one a little closer to a first kiss.

The teenagers swarmed as they do on the eve of Independence Day,

except there were no plastic hamsters. Instead there were aerosol cans packed with a white foamy substance which to someone who has never seen the real thing might look like snow.

It was because of one of these aerosol cans that the young woman in the red dress slapped the young man in the brand new jeans. Her shrieks, as the white foam spurted into the air and onto her hair and black smock, made their friends burst out laughing.

The streets were as crowded as the sidewalks. Carloads, busloads and taxicabs of young men and women, soldiers on leave in their parents' cars, cruised the area. The noise rose and fell to the cacophony of car stereos blaring harsh melodies.

A Subaru bumped into the back of a BMW, and a crowd staring at a private party at a venerable Dizengoff cafe, melted away, to reappear as a crowd surrounding the two quar-



Robert Rosenberg

relling drivers. The crowd dissolved again once the threats of violence proved meaningless.

It was as if these thousands of people were out searching for something to see or do that would be remembered. In many of their eyes one could see something like a desperate query, asking approaching strangers if they had just left an interesting place and could provide directions.

Waiting for the last buses of the night, young couples in their final clutches kissed goodnight with eyes shut, oblivious of the crowds.

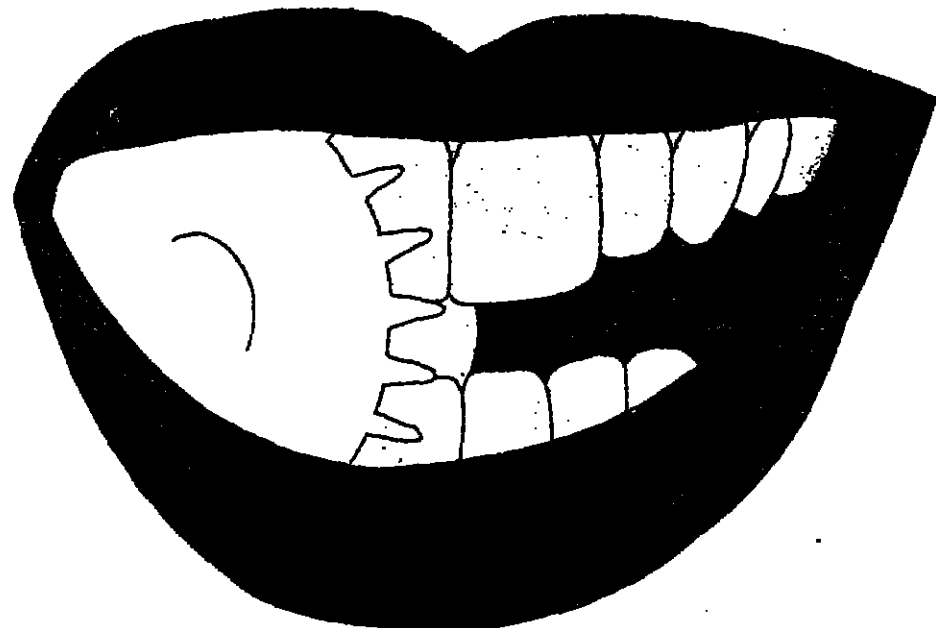
A dark girl in paisley polyester made to look like silk, cast one last

glance at a blond boy with a key-shaped earring. She stepped onto a bus as if in a dream, her arm still extended towards him. He stepped onto the first step of the bus, as if to accompany her. Only when the ticket-taker shouted, "Nu?" did he step back, to watch her make her unsteady way down the aisle of the moving bus.

The young girl in the red dress also stood at the bus stop, with the boy in the zippered sweater who still held the aerosol can in his hand. They spoke intensely; suddenly, he raised his arm. But it was to pluck some of the fake snow out of her black hair. She smiled at him, but he made no move to kiss her goodnight when the bus came. Then it was time for her to get on the bus, and the evening ended. The new year began for him as he gave the aerosol can to one of his friends, who wanted to continue down the street spraying other people out to spend the last night of the year on Dizengoff.

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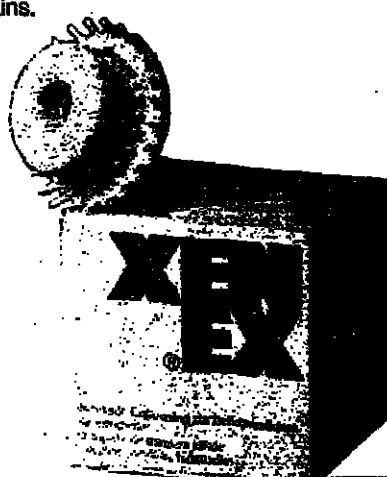
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ONE OF THE leading American Catholic authorities on Jewish-Catholic relations said this week that Jews and Israelis who have been pressing Pope John Paul II to establish diplomatic relations with Israel are deluding themselves if they think that the Vatican will agree to exchange ambassadors with the Jewish state until the issue of Jerusalem is resolved in a manner satisfactory to the Holy See.

Dr. Eugene Fisher, the Washington-based executive secretary for the Vatican Secretariat for Catholic-Jewish Relations, told *The Jerusalem Post* that in an encyclical entitled *Redemptio Anno* issued in 1984, Pope John Paul II "focused on the need for international guarantees for Jerusalem, no matter who has sovereignty." Reiterating this need, Fisher said:

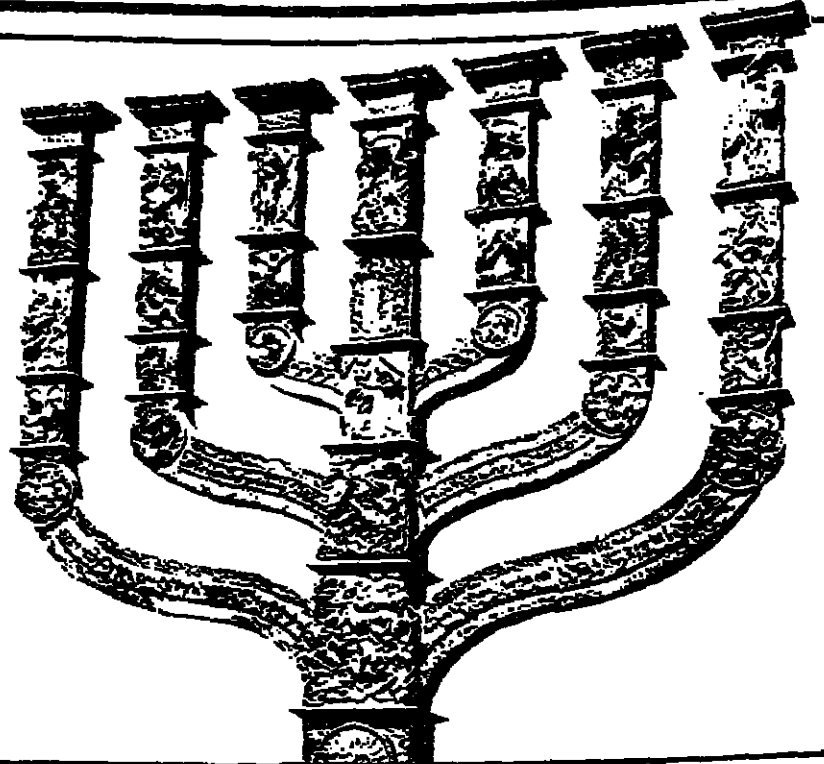
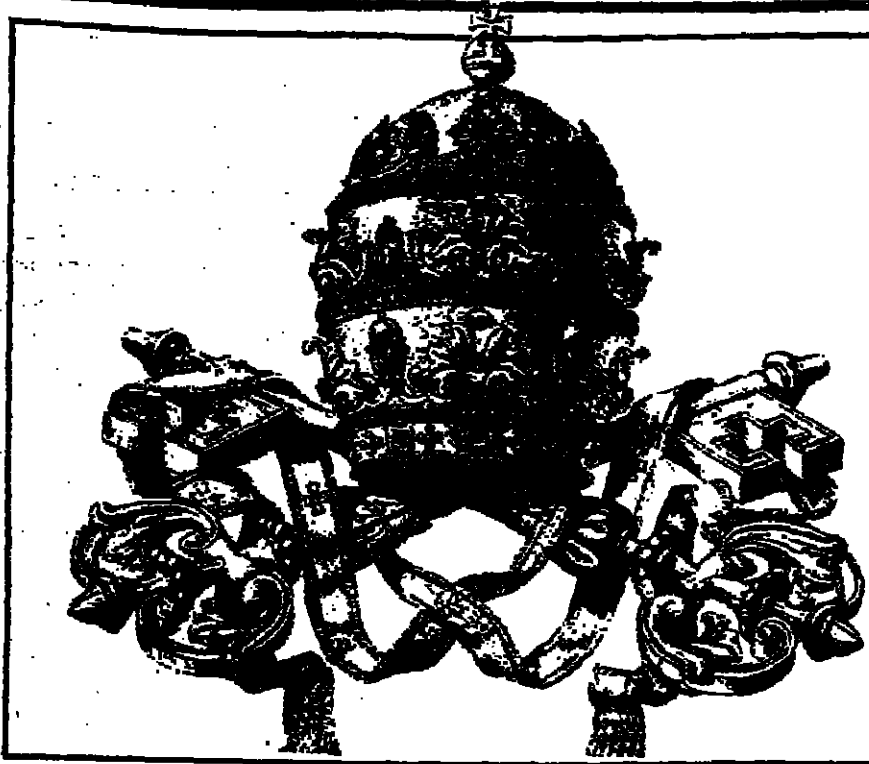
"As long as the issue of Jerusalem is unresolved, the Vatican will not play its most valuable card, which is a diplomatic exchange with Israel. I expect the Vatican will play its card in the context of an international resolution (of the Jerusalem question)."

Fisher's comments, coming in the wake of this week's controversy over the Vatican's insistence that New York Archbishop John Cardinal O'Connor cancel planned meetings in Jerusalem with President Chaim Herzog and Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir, vividly pointed up the reality that, despite 20 years of cordial dialogue between the Vatican and world Jewry, resulting in unprecedented Catholic efforts to uproot long-ingrained anti-Semitism within the Church, the two sides are still sharply divided over the issue of Israel.

The highlighting of the Vatican refusal to accord diplomatic recognition to Israel has led to a renewed debate in the Jewish community over whether Jews ought to press on with dialogue with Catholics on other issues of joint concern. A related controversy precipitated by the O'Connor imbroglio has raged this week between New York's Jewish Mayor Ed Koch, and Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum, international affairs director of the American Jewish Committee.

Koch has upbraided Tanenbaum in the media, asserting that the rabbi sabotaged the chances of a successful O'Connor trip to Israel by stating in *The New York Times* that the cardinal was determined to play a special role in helping to solve the Middle East conflict by bringing Arab and Jew closer together.

Koch claimed that Tanenbaum betrayed O'Connor's confidence by going public with comments made in a private conversation, and that it was their appearance in *The Times* that had led pro-Arab officials in the Vatican Secretariat of State to order the



The guest whose mind was changed

The controversy over New York Cardinal John O'Connor's current visit to Israel has highlighted the issue of Jewish-Catholic relations. At the centre of this subject is the Vatican's refusal to establish diplomatic ties with Israel. *The Jerusalem Post's* New York correspondent, Walter Ruby, discovers that Catholic and Jewish officials see the present controversy as having different implications for inter-faith dialogue.

cardinal to cancel his meetings with high Israeli officials.

Tanenbaum lashed back by noting that Koch had himself given an interview to the *Times* last August in which he divulged private comments made to him by O'Connor, supposedly expressing support for O'Connor's recognition of Israel. Nevertheless, other Jewish leaders here declined to express public support for Tanenbaum, privately expressing the opinion that he had blundered by divulging O'Connor's comments to the newspaper.

FISHER, WHO HAS met frequently over the years with Tanenbaum and other members of the International Jewish Committee on Interreligious Consultations, (IJCIC), the official body of world Jewry delegated to meet with Vatican leadership, is regarded by Jewish leaders as among the

Vatican spokesmen most sympathetic both to world Jewry and to the State of Israel.

In talking to *The Jerusalem Post*, Fisher acknowledged that "Catholics need to increase their understanding of the centrality of Israel to the Jewish religion and to world Jewry, just as we need to increase our understanding of the Shoah."

Admitting that he is aware of Jewish impatience with the position of the papacy on the question of Israel, Fisher remarked, "It should be noted, however, that there have been some significant advances over the years by the Vatican. When Pope Paul VI went there in 1965, he never once uttered the phrase 'State of Israel.' The present pope, by comparison, speaks about the State of Israel frequently, has condemned terrorism directed against Israel, and has acknowledged Israel's right to security and tranquillity, which as the pope said in

Redemptio Anno, is the 'prerogative of every nation.'"

Fisher said that the Vatican has purposefully left ambiguous the solution it will settle for on the Jerusalem question, as well as on the Palestinian issue. (The Vatican uses the term 'homeland for the Palestinians.' It is possible that the Jordanian option could fit it.)

"The Vatican is not criticizing Israel administration of the holy places," he said. "But given the flux in the Middle East, it is clear the Vatican wants a solution sealed into international law. They also want a situation for Jerusalem, but rather 'international statute,' and explained, 'by this we mean that whoever has sovereignty over Jerusalem would have to uphold internationally agreed-upon principles. An international statute would not preclude Israeli

sovereignty, but would not see that as the only solution."

Admitting his surprise that the Vatican had objected to O'Connor visiting the offices of Shamir and Herzog, Fisher noted that those offices are in West Jerusalem. "West Jerusalem has not been an issue for the Vatican. What they have objected to has been the unilateral Israeli annexation of East Jerusalem."

Fisher also indicated that Vatican fear of a potential bloodbath of Catholic minorities in Arab countries has played an important role in its aloof attitude towards Israel. "Certainly whatever the Vatican does vis a vis Israel has implications for Catholic minorities. Certainly, the interests of those minorities are not served by a state of war between Israel and her Arab neighbours."

Fisher said that, at present, the impact of the O'Connor controversy on the overall

framework of Catholic-Jewish relations "is hard to assess. It depends on what happens during O'Connor's visit to Israel. It should be noted that this controversy has brought to the centre of the Catholic-Jewish dialogue the question of Israel, and I think that is a healthy development."

RABBI MORDECAI Waxman, chairman of IJCIC, believes that the O'Connor imbroglio has definitely damaged the prospects for Jewish-Catholic dialogue.

"The whole issue creates unnecessary strains in the relationship between the Vatican and the Jewish community. This is unfortunate, because it is vitally necessary for the relationship to go on." (IJCIC includes the representation of the Synagogue Council of America, World Jewish Congress, American Jewish Committee, B'nai B'rith, and the Israel Interfaith Committee.)

According to Waxman, "It is very hard for us to understand the Vatican position on Israel, since many nations which disagree with Israel policies nevertheless recognize Israel. Why cannot the case with the Catholic Church? They are holding recognition as a bargaining chip. The Vatican must recognize that this question is vital to us."

Waxman said, however, that even if the Vatican doesn't recognize Israel, the Jewish-Catholic dialogue should continue. Noting that the church has made important strides in attacking Catholic anti-Semitism in Europe, the U.S., and Latin America, Waxman said, "For the first time in 1,900 years, Catholics are listening to Judaism. Recently, Catholic nuns in upper Michigan told me they read (Rabbi Abraham Joshua) Heschel as devotional literature. There has been a major change in Catholic attitudes, and it would be a mistake for us to break off the conversation with the Church. The issue of Israel is vital to us, but it is not the only element in the dialogue."

However there were indications that the position of the World Jewish Congress, which among the various constituent organizations in IJCIC has pushed for a toughening of the Jewish line toward the Vatican, has been strengthened by the O'Connor affair. According to Elan Steinberg, WJC executive director, "I believe the O'Connor mission has galvanized the Jewish community to the understanding that the problem of Vatican non-recognition of Israel must be the primary issue in our dialogue with the Vatican... There must be an end to the false, asymmetrical relationship in this dialogue. We do not come to the Vatican as supplicants, but as equals. There must be an end to Jewish 'hush-hush' diplomacy."

ONE CAN'T blame Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir's supporters for regretting that the Herut convention isn't being held this week, now that Attorney-General Yosef Harish has issued his *kashur* certificate over Shamir's role in the Shin Bet affair. Followers of Deputy Premier and Housing Minister David Levy and Industry and Trade Minister Ariel Sharon could hardly challenge his primacy and nor could those of the premier's off-and-on ally, Minister-without-Portfolio Moshe Arens. We might even have seen Gaston Malka (Levy's noisiest delegate at the first session) carrying Shamir in triumph around the hall.

While Likudniks like Knesset faction chairman Haim Kaudman hit back at such Labourites as Energy Minister Moshe Shalal and ex-Health Minister Motta Gur for having too hastily passed judgment on Shamir, they won't any more be able to raise old charges from Yom Kippur War days about Labour ministers dodging ministerial responsibility.

In Herut, they credit the way Shamir came up smelling like roses to the advice he received from that smart duo of MK-lawyers Dan Meridor and Ehud Olmert. Their successful counsel undoubtedly will make Shamir rely on them even more in the future. It's said they've been in the ascendancy for some time in the Shamir entourage, while Deputy Minister Ronnie Milo seems to be losing favour.

Their closeness to Shamir was seen on rotation day, when he emerged from the Knesset chamber between Meridor and Olmert, and was overheard saying: "You two are responsible for all this."

The old iron "princes" derive from the fighting family. Both were in the late Eliahu Meridor and...

Olmert were in the IZL and later Herut MKs. Their good friend, the "prince of princes" Ze'ev Binyamin Begin has lately been loudly declaring: "Who says Shamir won't continue after 1987?"

Non-Herutniks shouldn't be too surprised at the party faithful's vehement reaction against Begin jr.'s reminder that his father was the most famous victim of Arik's Lebanon misadventure. It's probably their sense of guilt that they let it happen so easily.

GOVERNMENT budget discussions seem to be dominated neither by liberalism nor socialism, but by attrition economics. Vice Premier and Foreign Minister Shimon Peres, brought by Shamir and Finance Minister Moshe Nissim to rescue the economic programme, is adopting the old Mapai tactics of wearing down partners in discussions by sheer stamina. An exhausted Nissim is trying to keep up with Peres' pace, who begins his second work day at 9:30 p.m., lasting usually until 1:30 a.m.

It will be interesting to watch how Peres deals with Histadrut Secretary-General Yisrael Kessar.

APART FROM U.S. envoy Richard Murphy's return to the region - there are signs that the diplomatic scene's winter hibernation is over. Foreign Ministry political director-general Yossi Beilin is due in Washington within the fortnight at the invitation of Under-Secretary for Political Affairs Michael Armacost. He will be the first senior Israeli official to land in Washington since "Integrate" blew up. Beilin is regarded as laying the ground for Premier Shamir's scheduled visit in February. Shortly after, it is hoped, Foreign Minister Peres will be going to Cairo to meet President Hosni

Mubarak. The current trip to Egypt of his director-general Avraham (Abrasha) Tamir is seen as preparing the way.

MOTTA GUR's readiness to replace Moshe Sarbar as Solel Boneh chairman makes people wonder. Perhaps his bravura resignation from the cabinet has gone sour? Or has he learned the lesson that out of media sight, means out of public mind?

THE LIBERAL Party circus is back in town: Minister-without-Portfolio Yitzhak Moda'i - playing the human time-bomb - enriched the political lexicon with a new term - "chickenism," when charging his three friendly enemies - Justice and Tourism Minister Avraham Shari, Science Minister Gideon Pat and Nissim -

Shamir rules the roost



SHAMIR



KESSAR



MERIDOR

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of collusion with Labour in keeping him out of the Justice Ministry. In turn, they compare him to big-mouthed Kermitt the frog.

To give Moda'i his due, he made a quotable quote on Israel Radio this week by declaring: "Are we in Japan or England where ministers resign after failing at their jobs?"

Shari, for his part, established a new ministerial style when publicly threatening Shalal that "he would be really sorry if his past were dug up." Shalal's people say Shamir was over-reacting to their man's remark on the need for a properly-qualified justice minister.

IN THE Knesset they're murmuring that coalition executive chairman Rafi Edri is behaving as if he invented the post, to go by the extravagant series of parties across the country celebrating his new job. The bash at Jerusalem's Moriah Hotel drew a large crowd, including Peres, Transport Minister Haim Corfu and Communications Minister Amnon Rubinstein.

I'M ASSURED that the new crack-

down on foreign correspondents' breaches of the censorship law is not only a function of Shamir's return to the PM's Office. Rather it's the outcome of discussions at the informal, top information-policy forum which comprises the three senior ministers' media counsellors - Avi Pazner (Shamir), Uri Savir (Peres), Elita Haber (Rabin) and Chief Army Censor Tat-Aluf Yitzhak Shani. IDF Spokesman Tat-Aluf Ephraim Lapid and Government Press Office head Dr. Israel Pelleg.

When I asked Press Council president Yehoshua Rotenstreich, who decades ago worked out the press-army censorship arrangements, how censorship can work in the age of instant communications, he replied: "It's high impossible."

THE VATICAN'S seasonal reminder of its hostility to the Jewish state, forbidding New York Cardinal John O'Connor to meet President Chaim Herzog and other Israeli leaders, is in sharp contrast to Pope John Paul's upcoming meeting in April with Chilean President Augusto Pinochet at Holy See legitimization of his au-

thoritarian regime.

There have already been recriminations among American Jewish organizations, with American Jewish Committee's Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum accused of sparking the Vatican's ban by remarks to *The New York Times* on the O'Connor visit. Indeed, Rabbi David Rosen, today the ADL's Israel interfaith affairs head, rapped "insensitivity in public Jewish quarters" in a statement released in Jerusalem.

In contrast - Rosen, formerly Chief Rabbi of Eire, took part in the meetings in Jerusalem of the International Council of Christians and Jews' younger leadership, attended by its chairman Sir Sigismund Sternberg, where 80 delegates from 15 countries considered ways of improving interfaith relations.

REMINDING us of David Ben-Gurion's disdain of economists' advice in his hurry to build the country, and his clashes with finance ministers Eliezer Kaplan and Levi Eshkol on immigration quotas, gave a topical note to B-G University lecturer Devora Hacohen's talk on the Old Man's fervent stand on mass immigration at Beit Ben-Gurion this week, which was chaired by Mordechai Ben-Porat. Dr. Hacohen, who is Labour MK Rabbi Menahem Hacohen's wife, related that in 1952 when Israeli Zionist leader Shlomo Hillel, today Knesset Speaker, spoke of airlifting the entire Iraqi community, Eshkol, overwhelmed by problems of 250,000 immigrants already in *ma'abarot*, opposed B-G's instant aliya approach.

THE IPO'S Jubilee might be renamed maestro Zubia Mehta's marathon, with him conducting almost nightly. Music-lovers trust it won't turn into a case of quantity versus quality. One problem with IPO concerts is the music-between-coughing, as remarked upon by the late Arthur Rubinstein: "In other countries when people get the flu they go to hospital, in Israel they come to my concerts!"

The Jubilee has seen the ingathering of what's called in the world of

music "The Kasher Nostra" - Daniel Barenboim, Itzhak Perlman, Pinhas Zukerman, Mehta, and father-figure Isaac Stern. Most of them watched Mehta light the fourth Hanukkah candle at the elegant party given in the IPO's honour by Tel Aviv Hilton Hotel general-manager Peter van der Vliet. Among the chic crowd - my fashion expert says - such well-dressed women as Lady Lily Steiff, Nurit Jaglom, Sasa Ackerman, Ziva Lahat and Sara Baruchin stood out.

Most of them attended the IPO's \$1,000 per couple New Year's Eve concert and dinner-dance at the Mann Auditorium. Guests of honour were Israel and Miriam Blankfield. Israel Blankfield is president of the Australian Friends of the IPO which sponsored the concert. As the Jubilee Festival ends, the question facing the orchestra: Is there life after Mehta?

LUFTHANSA'S Israel manager Heinz Diedrichsen's end-of-year cocktail party at the Tel Aviv Dan Hotel, attended by West German charge d'affaires Werner Fleck, Tel Aviv deputy mayor Yigal Griffl and travel industry leaders, became a pre-farewell party for the airline executive and his wife Edith, soon to launch Lufthansa's new Washington D.C. office. Transport Minister Corfu sent a personal letter to a farewell luncheon at the Jerusalem Hilton, appreciating Diedrichsen's endearing personality and friendship for Israel.

THE 80TH birthday of the doyen of Israeli archaeologists, Prof. Binyamin Mazar was marked at the Academy of Sciences in Jerusalem this week by a day-long study jointly sponsored by the Academy, the Israel Exploration Society, which he helped found, and the Hebrew University, of which he was both president and rector between 1952 and 1961. Well-wishers included Israel's fourth president, Prof. Ephraim Katzir, Academy President Prof. Joshua Jortner, Weizmann Institute President Prof. Arye Dvoretzky, and HU Acting President and Rector Prof. Amnon Pazy.

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The Tora reading for this week is Mitzot (Exodus 23:1-32:10).

THE QUESTION, or rather one of the questions, in the Joseph story told in the last chapters of the book of Genesis, is the meaning of the lengthy description of Joseph's encounter with Pharaoh. Was it only to tell us how he got into the high position in the hierarchy of Egypt. Or is there an essential part of what follows in the Torah text elaborating on this, giving content more than this simple coming to Nemu. Leibowitz suggests that there was an additional very important significance to Joseph's being in Egypt, and that was Joseph's role in bring-

Now, *Nehama* invites us to read carefully the first section of Joseph's lengthy answer to Pharaoh in which he interprets the dream:

"...What *God* is about to do He has declared unto Pharaoh... The seven good cows are seven years: and the seven good ears are seven years: the dream is one... What *God* is about to do He has shown unto Pharaoh... Behold there come seven years of great plenty throughout all the land of Egypt... And there shall arise after them seven years of famine... The dream was doubled unto Pharaoh twice, it is because the thing is established by *God* and *God* will shortly bring it to pass... Now thou shalt be able to understand the dream of thy servant."

Joseph had this mission of his accomplished, even before he made it in the palace of Pharaoh: The king of Egypt for the first time defers to the supreme King of Kings.

Rabbi Peli is Professor of Jewish thought and literature, Ben-Gurion University of the Negev.

Irving Greenberg

Specifically, he calls upon the Jewish people to recall the two major lessons of recent history, the Holocaust and the establishment of the State of Israel. On the one hand, he points out, the Nazis did not differentiate between different types of Jews. On the other, it was not one group that made the establishment of the state possible. . . .

A century ago, he says, Jews faced a similar choice. There were those, he says, who simply sat passively and awaited their fate. Others turned toward assimilation and abandoned their people. But it was the religious and secular alike who turned toward the third alternative, Zionism, and prepared the groundwork for the preservation of the Jewish People.

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BEN MENASHE also arranges for civil marriages by proxy. The two partners remain in Israel, but they are married in Paraguay. This is the way in which he arranges for marriages for Reform or Conservative converts, as well as for *miamzerim*.

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DR. BENNY BEGIN, son of the former prime minister, is 44 years old and still thought of in relation to his father. At his age, Menachem Begin had already been a Knesset member for 10 years and his years as leader of the IZL underground were a full decade behind him. Benny still has difficulty in proving that he is politically his own man and that he is really a big boy.

Someone very close to both Begin's sons, Zeev and Benjamin Begin (contrary to the popular misconception, his name is not Benjamin Zeev, and he was not named after Herzl, but after his paternal grandfather) has come of age and that he must not be regarded as his father's mouthpiece. Had the elder Begin wanted to convey a message to the Israeli public, he would have done so himself and not through his son, Benny Sr., says the source, did not send Benny Jr. on what appears to be a campaign against Ariel Sharon. Neither has spoken of the matter to the source and the father has certainly not sent the son off to fight his battles with his blessing. This does not preclude the possibility that the son is hitting out on his own initiative against the man he feels has wronged his father.

As the knowledgeable source has it, it is years since Benny consulted with his father about what he should do or say; and the father simply does not tell the son what to do. That does not mean that the two do not converse. They are, in fact, very close and have the sort of relationship many parents would envy.

The question has been raised again in relation to the latest round of what is seen as an anti-Sharon crusade.

BENNY BEGIN can deny the various statements attributed to him for all his worth, but it will do him little good. In the public mind he has been fixed as leading a family vendetta against Sharon. The truth, as often happens, lies somewhere in the middle.

Even a superficial reading of the so-called interview with Benny that appeared recently in the Jerusalem weekly *Kol Ha'ir* would show clearly that most of the juicy anti-Sharon quotes are based on hearsay and cannot be substantiated. The one thing Benny did undoubtedly say was: "Should Sharon ever be chosen to head the Likud, that would not be a positive development."

Coming from the only Begin making political headlines these days, that is revealing enough. But the best gems in the piece came from unnamed participants in unspecified party meetings, who allegedly heard Benny refer to Sharon as "a parasite," as being "unscrupulous" and as having "ruined" his father's leadership.

Begin denies saying any of these things, and no one can prove otherwise. To some extent he can justly claim to be the victim of sensationalist reporting. In quite an exhaustive survey of Herut insiders, *The Jerusalem Post* could find no one who could remember Benny ever mentioning his father in the context of the ostensible feud with Sharon. When it comes down to it, no one can actually recall him saying that Sharon had any part in or responsibility for what happened to his father.

MUCH for actual fact. That is not to say that the impression Benny Begin creates is not very similar in essence to the statements he denies making. He may not ever have resorted to the crude terminology attrib-

uted to him (which is far from his aseptic style), but those who have heard him cannot deny that there is little love lost between Benny Jr. and Sharon.

Justified or not, the impression in Herut is that Benny is engaged in a vendetta. One party activist after another has described him to *The Post* as going from branch to branch to discharge his verbal barbs against Sharon.

On closer examination, however, it becomes clear that this, too, is just an impression, widespread though it may be. It could be either that Benny is very clever in getting his message across by indirect means, or that he is sometimes unwittingly, if not foolishly, trapped into saying what he had not intended to say.

The conclusion is left for the reader to work out for himself. However, it should be noted that it is not Benny or his associates who are responsible for inviting the press to his branch appearances, so he can always claim that his remarks were not intended for the media (though he would have to be very naive to trust that they would not reach them).

He usually opens with an address urging party unity, but in the picture he paints he studiously ignores Sharon. It is as if he would rather not utter that name if he could possibly help it.

The excitement starts after Benny's prepared address, when the members start asking questions. There are always some who can be counted on to ask pointedly why Benny has failed to mention Sharon. Here he either lacks the self-control to keep from getting drawn into controversy, or he seizes an opportunity he has been deliberately waiting for.

Whatever the case, it is generally here, in response to a question, that Benny reveals his hostility to Sharon. He is never vulgar in his pronouncements, and his tones are almost surrealist reminiscent of his father. He is cutting and sardonic. But unlike his father, he appears cool, over-cerebral and aloof, if not actually haughty. He looks like his father, has the same facial expressions and the same intonation; but he lacks the elder Begin's ability to appear folksy and earthy.

BENNY COULD, of course, avoid walking into a trap, if this is what it is. Close friends can't stress sufficiently how "absolutely honest and straight as a ramrod" he is. Says one close friend: "He will never say something he doesn't think. There is no hypocrisy in him. But like his father, he will not dodge a challenge either. So when asked, his instinct is to reply. Maybe it would be better for him if he did not, but that's his nature."

This friend subscribes to the theory that "Benny just gets dragged into it. He doesn't intend to dwell on Sharon, or to bring up the subject at all. But he can't help it. Even an attempt to avoid replying sounds like an attack on Sharon." The fact that the question of Sharon hardly ever fails to come up is not, to his mind, "the product of cunning design on Benny's part."

Like practically everyone in Herut sounded out by *The Post*, this friend believes that "Benny would do far better for himself if he did not react to queries or taunts about Sharon. Being totally neutral in the internal Herut constellation would be best for Benny and worst for Sharon."

So far, Sharon is the one single benefi-

Battling Benny: heir to the fighting family

Benny Begin is now seen as leading the struggle in Herut against Ariel Sharon's challenge for the party leadership. The Post's Political Correspondent Sarah Honig investigates whether this is in fact so, or whether Benny Jr. is the victim of sensationalist reporting. Whatever the truth, Herut activists see the whole episode as harming his status.



ary from the apparent war mounted against him. It is no accident that those who keep putting questions to Benny about Sharon are almost invariably Sharon's own cronies.

SHARON'S actual power in Herut is small.

The maximum estimates don't give him more than 15 per cent of the party's support. Behind him is the original Shlomzion group that entered Herut with him, along with a small circle of additional hangers-on picked up along the way.

But Sharon is an astute strategist. No one

will ever catch him taking part in a three-way contest, where his true strength in the party can be gauged. He is always in the arena when only one of the many contenders for Herut leadership is pitted against him.

In this way, he can count on the support of someone else's faction. Thus when he challenged Yitzhak Shamir in 1984, it was only after David Levy stayed out of the race that Sharon then picked up votes from the party camp and appeared far more powerful than he really was.

In the last Herut convention, he beat Sharon in the contest for chairman of the steering committee when he could also count on Levy faction support.

A prevalent opinion in Herut is that the younger Begin cannot be understood outside the phenomenon of the growing political movement of the fighting family's children - Dan Meridor, Uzi Landau, Ehud Olmert, Benjamin Netanyahu and others.

These sons refer to them disparagingly as "the new princes," and charge that they are the new sons to Herut, most of whom are considered as bandwagon climbers and opportunists. When they have finished off Sharon, according to this school of thought, they will do their hatchet job on Levy.

THOSE who do like the group don't call them princes, but describe them as the party's "great hope" and as "unrivaled leadership potential." No other party, they argue, can boast such a serious, personable, dedicated and capable bunch. (*The Post*, incidentally, has heard almost identical comments from a number of Labour sources, who spoke of the group with some anxiety, not unmixed with envy, as a potentially formidable political challenge.)

This group, it is predicted in Herut, will eventually provide the party's leadership, replacing the entire current strife-ridden hierarchy. Benny Begin would not have moved politically without the encouragement of his personal and political buddies.

Meridor, it is noted, arranged Benny's first political appearance a year ago on TV's *Moked* interview programme. It was there that Benny for the first time replied to questions in a manner interpreted as being anti-Sharon.

At the time, Herut was waiting for the younger Begin with bated breath. He was regarded as the next best thing to the return of his father. The striking physical and rhetorical resemblance between them helped to build up expectations of the arrival of one who would release Herut from the wars of succession and fulfil the eager yearnings of the rank and file for a Begin comeback and a renewal of the forever charismatic leadership.

BOTH THOSE who like and those who dislike Benny Jr. say he blundered incredibly. This was already apparent to party insiders when the first *Moked* appearance was over and the public at large thought a new star had been born. But anyone who knows Herut realizes that Benny should never have allowed himself to give the impression that he was attacking a fellow Herutnik. That is an unpardonable sin in Herut, especially as Israel TV is regarded as hostile territory.

Considering that Benny is literally Herut-born and bred, it is astounding that he could display such lack of understanding

for his party's emotional make-up. He violated the unwritten Herut code which forbids public onslaughts on a member perceived as being under Labour or media fire. You don't hit a man when he's down. Rightly or wrongly, Benny was regarded as breaching just that tabu.

The average Herutnik didn't like it. This is true all the way from the grass-roots to the Prime Minister's Office. Yitzhak Shamir is known to have expressed "extreme displeasure at Benny's continued harping on the Sharon issue," say sources close to the prime minister.

Ever, one in the party agrees that Benny is doing Sharon the greatest service possible. If ignored, Sharon would wither in Herut from lack of attention. As it is, Benny has cast him in the role he loves best - that of the hounded underdog. In no party does it pay as much as in Herut to be an underdog.

Every time Benny is seen as so much as hinting disapproval of him, Sharon wins a little more sympathy in the party, where old and young, veteran and newcomer, loves to identify with the persecuted patriotic victim. Sharon could never have dreamed of clobbering Benny at the party convention without the image of underdog set upon by a spoiled young upstart, who had never contributed what Sharon had to the nation's security. Benny made his own defeat possible.

MISTY-EYED as everyone in the party gets about Benny Jr., they don't like his son appearing as a funder of discord and disunity. Benny was expected to be the great healer, belonging to the entire party. Instead, he is seen as being factional, and he speaks ill of others. Herut wanted him to be dignity personified, and to pay suitable lip-service to all the patriotic sacred causes, with just the right blend of the intellectual and the low-brow polemics and passion. He must be more like his father than he has so far shown himself to be.

One young party activist told *The Post* mournfully that "Benny is the man who could have saved Herut, but instead he is hurting it. He is playing with fire and pouring oil on the flames. He is not doing Sharon any damage, but he is damaging Herut. He makes the party look bad. Only Labour can derive pleasure from Benny's utterances. His real victim is the party image, and that is why Shamir is so unhappy about what he is doing."

Somehow, deep inside, there is a feeling among the party faithful that Benny the father wouldn't have done what Benny the son is doing. The father is revered as a gentleman who never slung mud. He was never soft on rivals, but the collective Herut memory speaks of him as never having fought dirty. The son is regarded as fighting dirty and as being unfair.

The young activist seems to sum up popular party sentiment when he argued that "Benny has no right to expect us all to dislike whomever he finds fault with. It doesn't work that way, and it's no good for him personally."

"He has developed an obsession. It would do well for him to remember Arye Naor (the former cabinet secretary) and what his anti-Sharon obsession and his washing Herut laundry in public did to him."

If Benny isn't careful, his obsession will leave him with the same political stature as Naor has.

Coincidental compromise

AS I WATCHED the shots of a Jewish-owned, kosher hotel preparing a beautiful Christmas tree for its Hanukkah party, I thought what a wonderful thing it is that every 19 years Hanukkah and Christmas-New Year coincide. This makes it possible for the Chief Rabbinate to close its eyes to a Lord Nelson to the celebrations in hotels of non-kosher holidays. The other eye is kept open to observe what kind of publicity is given to the parties.

We heard Yehuda Greenbaum, chairman of the Hoteliers' Association, who is also manager of the Shalom Hotel, telling the Chief Rabbinate bluntly via television, that times were so bad hotels simply had no alternative but to provide their Christian guests with the kind of parties arranged for such tourists by hotels around the globe. According to Greenbaum, most tourists to Israel today were Christians.

It was very brave of Greenbaum to defy the Chief Rabbinate's demand for courage of Promethian challenge to the gods. The next thing I noticed was an advertisement by the Rabbinate in *The Jerusalem Post* that the kosher certificate of the Shalom Hotel had been cancelled. Perhaps it was just a coincidence, but the ad

Teleview/Philip Gillon

came very hard on top of Greenbaum's TV appearance.

There is an old Jewish story about a Jew converted to Catholicism, who still enjoyed roast chicken on Friday night, despite the dietary law that Catholics could not eat meat. He did so by using the formula used by the priest when he was converted - "Jew, Jew, you're a Christian" - and said, "Chicken, chicken, you're a fish."

The success of this maneuver of calling Christmas and New Year's Eve parties Hanukkah parties opens up a world of possibilities for negotiating peace in some of our religious wars. Obviously, nobody wants to wait for stretches of 19 years before having a party. If only we can find the right new names for things, maybe we can enjoy all kinds of pleasures at present forbidden. I wrote last week about Marghanita Laski's discovery of reform by nomenclature. Now we should be able to attain compromise by nomenclature.

For instance, let us consider New Year's Eve. The reason we cannot join people throughout the world, in

Year's Eve. The reason we cannot join people throughout the world, in celebrating the fact that humanity has somehow got through another year without blowing the planet to blazes, is that the foolish Israelis who came here from Europe call the night Sylvester's Eve. Those of us who had the sense to come from Anglo-Saxon lands had never heard of Sylvester; we just called it New Year's Eve. As far as I can gather, Sylvester was a pope, and a nasty bit of anti-Semitic work at that, who was canonized for some mysterious reason. I think that he had something to do with the calendar. He was born on New Year's Eve. But there is no reason why European Jews should allow him to abrogate the night to himself.

So let us take the night away from this Sylvester character. It is too late to use New Year's Eve - guilt by association will make the rabbis suspect almost as a conditioned reflex that this is Sylvester in sheep's clothing. Besides, there is an element of competition with our own Rosh Hashana about such a name.

The best solution is to get our experts on the Bible and Jewish history to discover a couple of very reputable Jewish characters who were born on Christmas Eve and New Year's Eve. With a cast of so

many thousands, there must have been somebody. Then we could have parties every year to mark the births of King David or Rabbi Hillel or Hagar or somebody Noah begot or who was begot by any of Noah's descendants. As I say, our brilliant scholars are certain to find somebody.

We can then have two parties a year with clear consciences and a rabbinical blessing, while our Christian visitors will think that they are commemorating whoever they want to commemorate.

REVIEWING what we have seen on TV during the 12 months that ended on what I shall call for the time being King Solomon's Day, till the savants come up with a better name, I think that this year should certainly get us into the *Guinness Book of Records*. As Ram Evron noted with some incredulity and awe when interviewing Aluf (res.) Shlomo Gazit, we have had four major Affairs going on at the same time - the Pollard Affair, the Shin Bet Affair, the Iran Affair and the Yaman Affair. (This disregards such minor Affairs as the Jewish underground and Arab terrorism.) I doubt whether countries with populations 50 times as great could handle so many Affairs simultaneously and with such aplomb.

Gazit thought that the phenomenon was due to our having an inebriated surfeit of journalists in our midst. He said that there were more journalists around to see the two Arab terrorists taken out of the bus, apparently alive and healthy, than had covered the whole War of Independence. I hope that his implication is not that in the good old halcyon days we could get away with murder.

What I think is to blame for these Affairs is that we still worship "matters of national security" as a sacred cow. In its name we suspend the normal operation of democratic principles. All a wrongdoer needs to do is to get that stamp on to his actions, and nobody dares to question him or seek the truth.

THE FACT that, many things of which we should be ashamed were covered up in the past emerged from Gil Sadan's brilliant documentary on *Second Look*. This programme was devoted to the wrongs done to the Israeli Arabs, presented in the guise of a film about Mohammed Bakri's one-man show, *The Op-Slims*, staged by Ilan Toren, of the Haifa Theatre.

Sadan has for a long time been producing excellent news and news feature coverage about the Arabs, both in Israel and the occupied areas. But he really surpassed himself with this skilful mixture of a straight description of an exceptional theatrical event, an interview with Bakri and other Arabs and the presentation of facts.

Included in the documentary material was a black and white shot of Arabs being expelled across the border by Israeli troops. I have never seen this in a documentary before, although we did have a similar scene

in the TV film based on S. Yizhar's story, *Hibet Hiza*.

In the interview, Bakri said he was not prepared to die for Palestinian nationalism, although he believed in it with great fervour and so therefore he did not use a kalashnikov. Instead he fought the cause by using the stage and ideas. He is certainly a very effective champion for Arab rights.

His conclusion is that in the short run, the oppressed appear to be foolish, but in the long run it turns out that the fools are the oppressors.

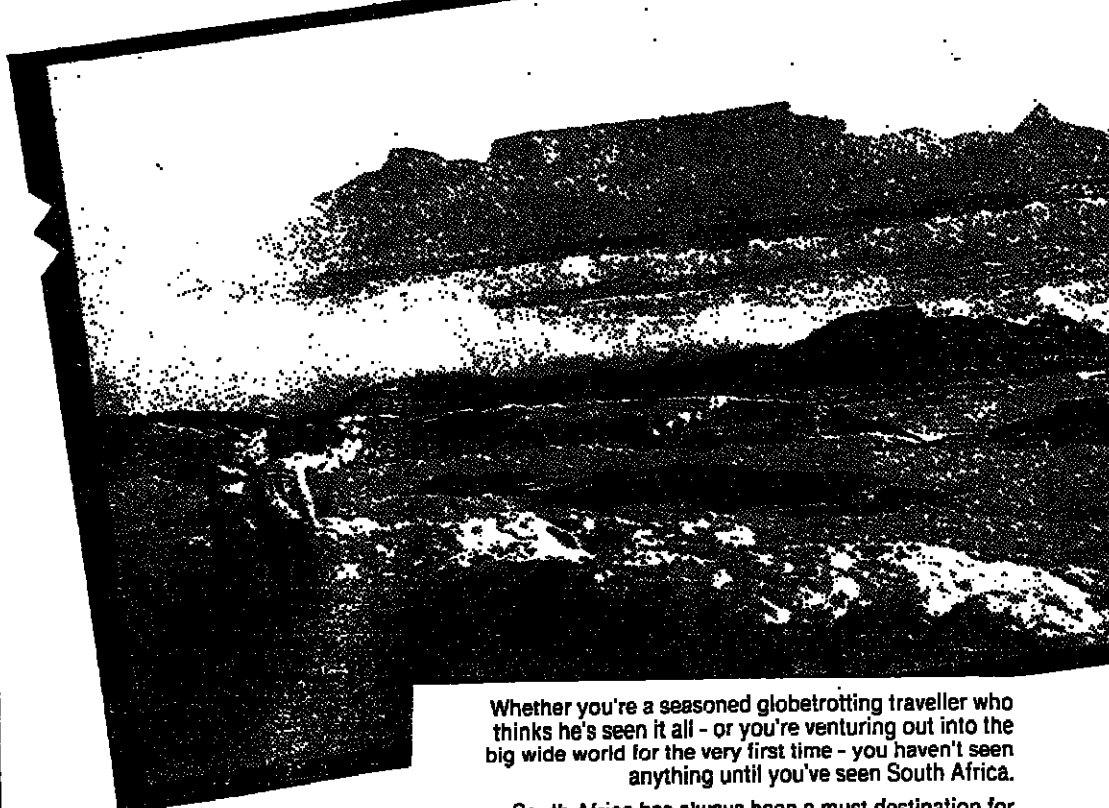
Slavery enslaves the slaver as much as the slave.

THE THEME of *Entrance Fee* this week was that it is virtually suicidal for any Israeli to report acts of corruption, bribery, theft or other crimes observed in the place where he works. The penalty for lodging complaints about such crimes ranges from expulsion from the country to loss of employment, with a permanent black mark against one's name. Seldom, if ever, is any action taken against the person about whom the

informant, who could not keep his conscience quiet and his trap shut, informs.

I was reminded of what happened to Shlomo Shirazi, the first-class Betar Jerusalem defender. He was a member of a gang engaged in the despicable crimes of robbing and blackmailing lovers using a north Tel Aviv beach at night. When caught, he informed on his associates and got immunity. Whenever a hostile crowd wants to barrack him, they sneer, not "Robber" or "Blackmail-er," but "State's witness!"

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AT THE beginning of last month, a much-awaited trial began in Paris's Criminal Court. For the first time in France, a jury of nine citizens and three judges were to hear and judge the case against a group of alleged Action Directe terrorists: Regis Schleicher, Claude Halphen and his younger brother Nicolas, two Italians (Gloria Argano and Franco Fiorina) currently serving sentences in an Italian jail, and an Algerian, Mohand Hamami, who's still on the run.

Action Directe has claimed responsibility for two murders, two attempted murders and over 60 attacks — bombings and machinegunnings — since 1979. Israel's trade mission in Paris, an Israeli Embassy official's car, the Israeli Discount Bank, Bank Leumi, the Jewish-owned Nemor firm and companies importing Israeli citrus were all hit by the group.

Pamphlets signed by the Lebanese Armed Revolutionary Faction (Far) claiming responsibility for the 1982 assassination of Israeli diplomat Ya'acov Bar-Simantov in Paris were found in an Action Directe cache. Action Directe members also raided a number of banks and in 1980 stole official stamps and close to 1,000 blank ID cards and passports in a raid on Paris's 14th arrondissement town hall.

Never before have the French authorities mounted such security precautions around the Palais de Justice, surrounding the large building on the Ile de la Cité with 300 armed elite gendarmes. Plainclothes policemen checked all cars crossing the bridges to the island, forbidding parking and stopping within a wide radius of the court.

A week before the trial opened, two women calmly walked up to George Besse, chairman of France's largest state-owned car manufacturer, Renault, and shot him in the head. Action Directe claimed responsibility, clearly intending the assassination as a warning to the jury due to try the Action Directe militants.

ON A sunny December afternoon, a group of French citizens were brought under heavy guard to the Palais de Justice. Nine names were drawn, then another four. The first nine were immediately sworn in and the other four became stand-ins. The trial could begin.

Immediately, Schleicher rose to his feet and menaced the court with his fists from the "People's Justice." The jurors turned very pale; within three days, one said he had to withdraw because his grandmother had passed away, two others were taken ill, a fourth had a nervous breakdown and a fifth failed to show up. Action Directe had won — the trial was postponed.

If Schleicher had made a lot of noise, Claude Halphen had kept rather quiet. The French Jewish media, usually quick to find a "Jewish angle," was also quick, neglecting to mention that Halphen was a Jew, and quite a proud one, proud enough to be the alleged founder of the "Jewish branch" of Action

Directe.

Claude Halphen was born in Suresnes, near Paris, in December 1955. His father, Albert, a member of the French Communist Party, was a full-time militant in the Peace Movement, an international pacifist organization closely linked to the Communist Party. Under the alias "Albert Legrand," he had served in the French Resistance, in Paris and southeast France.

"Legrand" belonged to the FTP-MOI, the émigré communist organization. According to recently published information, it had partly been betrayed to the Nazis by the Communist apparatus, its leaders wishing to polish up the Resistance's image as being led by "true blue" Frenchmen.

During the worst period of the Nazi occupation, the Gestapo displayed posters of "foreign terrorists," i.e. FTP-MOI members; one was an Armenian and the rest Jews — Mendel Langer, Thomas Elek, Marcel Rayman and others. All of them were shot.

Before the war, Albert Halphen worked with his parents who were furriers. Most of the furriers were active in communist circles and when the war broke out, they joined the underground.

Other Jews were arrested and deported to the concentration camps. This was the fate of those members of the Halphen family who had not joined the underground.

Claude was brought up on the revolutionary ideals of militancy, war against imperialism, etc. But Claude never became a Marxist, refusing to fit in with any system.

In 1968, when he was only 13, he participated in the student protests in Paris. It was on the barricades, as the youngest fighter, that he won his first nickname, *biberon* (baby's bottle). Back in school after the "revolution," he created a "high-school action committee," but his political activities soon led to his expulsion in 1969.

According to French law, Claude still had two more years at school. He was sent to a special institute where his classmates were other misfits in the French school system. In 1971, two years before his matriculation exam, Claude left school for good.

An old timer took him on as an apprentice but he worked infrequently, spending most of his time reading books and playing music with friends. He vainly tried to join ORA, the Anarchist Revolutionary Organization, but the tiny ultra-left militant group with its principle of manual work would only accept wage-earners. Claude never spent enough time in one job to earn a salary.

He turned to music and with some friends formed an orchestra called The Great Pumpkin.

The group shared an apartment, paying the rent with the proceeds from performances. Claude had left home after violent arguments with his father, unable to accept that, despite events in Czechoslovakia (the Prague Spring of 1968 and the Soviet invasion), Albert was still a

'Halphen joined Action Directe feeling that in this framework he would be able to pursue true resistance and the spirit of Judaism.'

Action Directe's Jew

Michel Zlotowski/Jerusalem Post Paris correspondent



Police check spectators entering the trial of Action Directe members.

militant member of the Communist Party.

It was not the attitude of true revolutionaries, he contended. Claude became involved with a group of Spanish anarchists who had fled Franco's Spain and sought asylum in southwest France. They held many meetings to further their fight against the Caudillo.

In 1975, tired of vegetables and goats, Claude returned to Paris, penniless. He bumped into an old friend, Andhe, a member of the Gari, the International Revolutionary Action Group set up two years earlier by Spanish anarchists who had sought refuge in France.

Claude stayed with Andhe and two other Gari militants for two months, before joining the leftist "Marge" (Margin) group which opposed any form of prison: jails, psychiatric hospitals, closed colleges, etc. Their demonstrations consisted of daubing the walls of these institutions with slogans, and

throwing rotten vegetables at the officials. The group was an offshoot of the "alternative" groups created in Berlin in the Seventies, in the spirit of the 1968 student revolution.

"Marge" members lived together, but its philosophy — particularly that on freedom of the body ("Your body does not belong to you, any member of the group can use it") was not to Claude's taste.

He left Marge to live with a girlfriend, earning a living buying and selling books with occasional stints on building sites. "In order to avoid becoming a part of the 'system,'" one of his friends told *The Jerusalem Post*, "he invested an incredible amount of energy just to earn enough money not to starve."

Claude had endless discussions on Judaism, Maimonides and the Talmudists with Charley Assouline, another occupant of the house, originally from an Orthodox Jewish fam-

ily. Years later, Assouline was a founder of *Traces*, the secular Jewish academic publication.

In 1978, badly in need of money, Claude and two friends signed up for work with a building contractor in Saudi Arabia. Claude could not cope and returned to Paris after two months. He was never paid.

In 1980, Claude fell in love with an Italian woman of Jordanian origin. They went on "honeymoon" to Jordan and Israel to look for their "Middle Eastern roots."

Claude was enraptured by Jerusalem where he spent two months. In postcards to friends, he described it as "the most beautiful place in the world." He walked the streets of Mea She'arim for hours and grew closer to his Jewish roots.

He became a specialist on the history of the Bund and the birth of Zionism, although his ideas were in complete contradiction to the policy of the state of Israel. Claude considered himself the heir to the deported members of his family, whose legacy was "Never submit to injustice."

There was a sharp rise in unemployment in France at the beginning of the Eighties, with a quarter of the country's young people out of work. At the same time, the big companies were cutting back on jobs and publicizing their large profits. For Claude this was unbearable. This was justice.

BY THE END of the Seventies, several of the small "revolutionary" groups had merged into an umbrella organization, Action Directe. The group's first act was on May Day 1979 when they machinegunned the entrance to the French Employers' Association building: there were no casualties.

Action Directe was mainly composed of Gari activists, the former anti-Franco militants looking for a new cause since Franco's death, and members of Napap, the Armed Nucleus for the People's Autonomy, founded and led by Frederic Oriach, a pro-Palestinian anti-Semite later involved in terrorist attacks on Jewish and Israeli targets in France.

Claude joined Action Directe in 1981, feeling that in this framework he would be able to pursue true resistance and the spirit of Judaism.

Operation Peace for Galilee in 1982 outraged Claude and he allegedly decided to create the Jewish Brigade. Dragging his younger brother, then 19, and a couple of other Jewish members to the Jewish part of the huge Père Lachaise cemetery, Claude named the group "Combat Unit Marcel Rayman," after the young Jewish resistance fighter whose name was on the Gestapo's "foreign terrorists" posters.

In August 1982, the group machinegunned an empty car officially belonging to a "clerical employee" of the Israeli embassy. In fact, it belonged to the embassy's security chief.

In a message to the AFP, the French press agency, the group declared: "We Jewish members of Action Directe wish to solemnly affirm our opposition to the Palestinian genocide perpetrated by Israeli

troops, faithful to the determination of Thomas Elek, Marcel Rayman and Mendel Langer, the combatants of the Botvina Division and of all our brothers who took up arms. We shall not allow the Palestinian people to be exterminated in the West Beirut ghetto. Jewish and Arab revolutionaries, united, we shall endlessly fight the Saudi princes, and the Zionist warmongers, gendarmes of U.S. imperialism."

The brigade's ultimate and second act was the bombing of the Discount Bank in Paris. There were no casualties. (The murderous attack on Goldenberg's restaurant took place two days later.)

In November 1982 the "Combat Unit Marcel Rayman" sent the press another message, accusing the Israeli government of "collaboration with the fascist juntas of Latin America... We are neither religious (Jews) nor nationalistic, but attached to a tradition of anti-capitalist combat. As Jews, we are outraged to see some of our brothers cruelly lived through the horrors of the Stalinist and Nazi fascistism sink into a fanatical racism justifying the internment camps, the racial laws in Cisjordan and the Gaza Strip, and the generalized oppression..."

According to all those who met Halphen, he was always opposed to "five targets," murders, in Action Directe jargon.

On May 31, 1983, Claude was waiting in an apartment with two Action Directe leaders for five other members who were transferring ammunition and arms from one cache to another. Four plainclothes policemen spotted what they thought was a gang of robbers. As soon as the five — Schleicher, Hamami, Nicolas Halphen and the two Italians — felt they were being watched, they shot at the policemen, killing two. The terrorists escaped in a car.

When Claude and his colleagues heard what had happened, they fled. Claude did not go into hiding and soon started living with Paula Jacques, an Egyptian-born Jewish writer, who was totally opposed to Action Directe's policy of violence. She said that, although they had discussed Action Directe, Claude never told her he was a member.

In March 1984 the police arrested Regis Schleicher, the Halphen brothers, Paula Jacques and Daniel Francek, a writer friend of Claude's. Francek and Jacques were released but Claude was charged with participating in the gunfight.

Now in prison, Claude regularly sees a Jewish chaplain. According to Paula Jacques, he fasted on Yom Kippur.

One of Claude's closest friends, a journalist on the leftist daily *Libération*, said that he was convinced that Claude had reached the same dead end that his father had reached by the end of his life. "Legrand," in the name of resolute faith, had refused to leave the Communist Party. Claude Halphen, with the same sense of honour, has refused until now to publicly dissociate himself from his Action Directe comrades.

His silence may keep him in jail for many years to come.

TOWARDS the end of 1953, David Ben-Gurion, who had just resigned as prime minister and settled in Kibbutz Sde Boker, was invited to address the Zionist General Council. He declined politely, but put a number of questions to the leaders of the Zionist movement that showed how sharply he and they were divided.

The thrust of his questions was that with the establishment of the State of Israel, with which the great majority of the Jewish people identified, the term "Zionist" no longer had any significance if it did not mean the obligation of personal fulfillment, *aliya*. If the Zionist movement did not demand this of its members, he saw no justification for its existence.

Ben-Gurion's blast cannot be properly understood merely on the basis of developments in the then-recent past. It must be seen against the background of the changes in his Zionist outlook over almost half a century.

In 1909, for example, he proposed the establishment of a political organization comprising all the Jews in Eretz Yisrael. And, in order to persuade the anti-Zionist "old yishuv" in Jerusalem to cooperate, he called for a change in the contemptuous attitude of the new Zionist settlers towards this population.

A year later he complained that since the death of Herzl, the Zionist movement had neglected political activity. "We need not show so much respect for what the 'Zionists' abroad think; much more important is what we think here, in Eretz Yisrael."

This tendency to shake off the confines of the Zionist Organization and spread the wings of Zionist activity among the Jewish masses found expression time and again. In some cases, Ben-Gurion was also motivated by partisan considerations.

In 1937, he met with Baruch Charney-Vladeck, a former Bundist, who was then an American labour leader in industries mainly populated by Jews. Vladeck held that Zionist activity should be limited to Palestine and should not

involve itself in Diaspora Jewish affairs. Ben-Gurion disagreed — but he reached agreement with Vladeck on a reverse involvement.

"I explained the internal political importance of the next [Zionist] Congress and the need to mobilize the [Jewish] workers of America to participate in the elections in order to strengthen the political position of the Eretz Yisrael workers in the Zionist movement," he wrote in his diary. "He agreed. He could deliver between 200,000 and 250,000 votes." Again, an appeal to non-Zionists to give their support, in effect, to Zionist goals.

But it was in the first years of statehood that this inclination of Ben-Gurion's reached its peak. The Jewish state had quickly assumed the role of the Zionist Organization in absorbing multitudes of olim, in developing the economy, in shaping the society, and in political representation. These were facts. Moreover, in its efforts to absorb the mass immigration, the state was supported by Jews from all circles, mostly non-Zionist. Objectively, then, the Zionist movement both in the Diaspora and in Eretz Yisrael had been shunted to the sidelines.

There was, however, also a subjective reason for Ben-Gurion's famous agreement in 1950 with Jacob Blaustein, chairman of the American Jewish Committee. Ben-Gurion was not only prime minister but the leader of Mapai. And Mapai wanted to block Abba Hillel Silver from taking control of the Zionist movement in the U.S. and of the United Jewish Appeal, which would have made him a sort of Exilarch. Mapai also feared that Silver planned to give financial support to the General Zionists in Israel.

This was the background to Ben-Gurion's exchange of letters with Blaustein, which can be seen as a revised version of his agreement with Vladeck. In both cases, Ben-Gurion agreed to draw a political line between the lives of Diaspora Jewry and the Jews in the Jewish state. In effect, he legitimized the absence of a feeling of "dual loyalty" in the political sense.

Apart from his partisan motivation in both cases, we see here Ben-Gurion's historical-ideological conception, which called for a gradual turning away from the Zionist movement (whose leaders had failed to give the called-for personal example) to the Jewish people.

"The State of Israel is now the Zionist movement," he wrote in 1954, "and it is she that carries the vision of redemption to those who dwell in it and to the nation in the Gola. On her latent pioneering power, on her moral radiance, depend the prospects of *aliya*."

WHY DID Ben-Gurion's split with the Zionist movement occur at the

From Zionism to the people

Ben-Gurion's stand on the obligation for Zionists to fulfil the goal of *aliya* underwent a number of changes. Yosef Gorny explains that, when Israel's first premier thought it expedient, he would drop this demand and even question the historical necessity for all Jews to live in Israel.



end of 1953, with his resignation from the government and his settling in Sde Boker? Both events, it may be surmised, stemmed from his yearning for a renewal of the pioneering era. But the shift "from Zionism to the people" was gradual, complex, and full of internal contradictions.

In 1949, Ben-Gurion proclaimed that, so long as the main goals of the state were not achieved, cooperation between it and the Zionist movement was essential. But a year later, addressing the Zionist General Council, he evinced a forgiving attitude towards those Zionists in the Gola who had no intention of moving to Israel.

"Far be it from me to reject their Zionism, and I do not regard them as being of lesser worth in the Zionist kingdom. That is the moral greatness of the Zionist movement, that there are all equal. Each according to his ability and in his own way."

In 1951, on his first visit to the U.S. as head of Israel's government, Ben-Gurion said that while he considered the idea of the Ingathering of the Exiles as an achievable vision, he had his doubts as to its historical necessity. He even agreed with Jewish leaders of all streams that a

distinction should be made between Gola (exile) and *Tfuza* (dispersion).

Simultaneously with this acceptance of the new reality, he began to develop the idea of a new national trinity: the Jewish state, the Zionist movement, and the Jewish people. This conception, which granted equal status to the people and to the movement (and which he had already hinted at in 1950) soon be-

came a bone of contention between him and most of the parties in the Zionist movement.

In the 1952 Knesset debate on the status of the Zionist movement, critics both from the left and the right attacked him for exaggerating the importance of "the Jewish people," thus depreciating the contribution of Zionism to the state's establishment.

"I confess to an even graver sin," he replied. "My Zionism is only an

expression of my Judaism, and not the other way around."

FATIGUE is probably a partial explanation for Ben-Gurion's withdrawal from politics in 1953 and his principled resignation from the Zionist movement. But I think there was also a deeper reason.

Although he himself had vigorously favored mass immigration, he was filled with anxiety over its possible influence on the future character of Israeli society. I assume he never freed himself from the ambivalent attitude of the Labour movement towards the huge waves of immigration which began with the Fourth *Aliya*: on the one hand there was a desire for such numbers and, on the other, an apprehension that the cultural-value system of these masses would undermine the foundations of the new Zionist society.

Ben-Gurion found his solution to this dilemma in the *image* of the pioneering elite that serves the needs of the group. Above all, this elite is based on personal example, which is the foundation of a model society and a model state. This vanguard would come, he thought, from among the youth, and it was already to be found in the settlements, scientific enterprises, and in the army. And it would also come from the Gola. But its mobilization demanded the example of personal Zionist fulfillment on the part of the movement's leaders.

Ben-Gurion rejected not only the moral authority of the Zionist leaders, but he even tried to belittle the value of the Zionist ideology for the present day. That ideology, he thought, grew out of the particular conditions of East European Jewry and had no relevance for the Jews of the U.S. and Western Europe.

Nor did the "old Zionism" have any meaning for the masses of olim from Asia and Africa. They clung to the messianic vision of Israel's redemption that had preserved the Jewish people during its centuries of exile. Thus, the obsolete Zionist ideology would make way for a new Zionist vision whose value-roots

were planted in the Bible, whose historical activism was nourished by the messianic idea, and whose bearers were pioneers, both sabras and olim, who would establish the model state.

This was the end of Ben-Gurion's journey from the Zionist movement to the Jewish people: the striving for a model society is what determines the criteria — both publicly and individually — for the manner of activity. And what links his divergent stands at different periods on the relationship between the Jewish people and the Zionist movement are the method and the means. The method is the employment of political power, and the means are the extra-Zionist elements in the Jewish people.

In the pre-state period, Ben-Gurion sought the cooperation of even anti-Zionist elements. In the first years of statehood, he mobilized the entire Jewish people to aid the fledgling state fighting for its life. And, finally, his attention focused on circles of idealistic youth, outside of the Zionist movement — "the precious vessel," he called them — who could shape the course of the new Jewish society through the means of the state.

In thus turning to the young people and in resorting to their pioneering-idealistic activism, Ben-Gurion returned to the Second *Aliya*, which did not find its way to pioneering achievement via the Zionist establishment. Indeed, its call to action went unheeded by the majority, but nevertheless it succeeded in establishing social precedents of revolutionary significance.

Ben-Gurion, then, quit the Zionist movement but he did not abandon Zionism. And the whole chapter of his relation to Zionism over 50 years bears the dialectical character of contradiction and construction.

This article is a condensation of a lecture delivered this week by Professor Gorny, of Tel Aviv University, at the international academic conference at the Hebrew University on "Zionism and its Opponents." It was adapted and translated by Aryeh Rubinstejn.

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SPORTS

SOCCER

Avi Cohen should give of his best again

By PAUL KOHN
TEL AVIV. — Avi Cohen has at last had a *sulha* with Maccabi Tel Aviv and returns to the team against Betar Ramat Gan this afternoon. He is now expected to play again with complete dedication.

League soccer resumes this weekend after a dismal Saturday of Toto Cup football but that joy will be short-lived as the League goes into a January freeze because the national youth squad is off the New Zealand. Many of the youth players playing there in an Oceania qualifying group of the World Cup for teams up to the age of 19 are in fact first team players in Israel's First and Second division teams and would be so sorely missed.

With the return of Avi Cohen, Maccabi Tel Aviv will be at full strength this afternoon. Maccabi pack enough talent to be able to take

care of Betar even though this is a derby game being played at Betar's fortress.

Another interesting game this afternoon will take place at Lod, where the local Hapoel play Kfar Sava. Hapoel Lod have won their last four league games and topped that with a Toto Cup win over Betar Jerusalem in the capital last week. Those results have moved little Lod to within three points of Hapoel Kfar Sava, who are currently third in the standings. Benny Smadja is the man the Kfar Savans will have to hold.

Toto Cup form must be discounted and quickly forgotten — at least that is what coach Dory Kashan will be telling his Betar Jerusalem squad. After a fine run of wins, his team lost 2-1 to Hapoel Lod at YMCA. Betar return to their spacious "home" pitch at the Bloomfield stadium in Jaffa tomorrow with Uri Malmillan back in the

line up after being stricken by flu, though Avi Golder will be out because of injury, that will give Gary Vandermolen, the newcomer from England, another chance to establish

Penalty shoot-outs

TEL AVIV. — Romania's squad won the trophy in the Under 16 section of the junior championships yesterday by defeating Greece 4-3 in the penalty shoot-out, after they had drawn 1-1 in the real soccer game.

Israel took 4th place after Denmark, also by reason of the highly controversial penalty shoot-out system. Israel lost the shoot-out 5-4, after the two teams had drawn 2-2.

Belgium play Denmark in the final of the Under 19 tournament at Ramat Gan today, after Israel and Romania face each other earlier at 12.30 in a contest for third place.

lish himself in the Betar attack. Hapoel Petah Tikva, the visitors, do not look powerful enough to halt the Jerusalemites. Kick-off is at 2.30 p.m.

In the early game at 12.30, Shimshon are at home to luckless Maccabi Netanya, who are a much better combination than their 13th place in the standings suggests. Championship aspirants Bnei Yehuda, who trail Betar Jerusalem by seven points, travel to Yavne, where the local Maccabi have won their last two games.

But Ben Tovim, Michael Dayan, Moshe Eiseberg and co. remain unbeaten this season, and it would come as a surprise if Yavne were the first to defeat them.

Other national league fixtures tomorrow:
Beitar Netanya v Hapoel Tel Aviv Netanya 2.30
Maccabi Haifa v Maccabi Petah Tikva K. Eiseberg 2.30
Maccabi Jaffa v Hapoel Beersheba Jaffa 2.30

ENGLISH SOCCER

A happy New Year for Charlie Nicholas

LONDON (Reuters). — Scottish international striker Charlie Nicholas celebrated the New Year and his recall to Arsenal's attack by scoring twice as the English First Division leaders beat Wimbledon 3-1 to stay four points clear of Everton yesterday.

But Nicholas' joy was not shared by his former Glasgow Celtic teammates, who were beaten 2-0 by Rangers in a classic "old firm" match at Ibrox Park, where a 43,000 crowd saw player-manager Graeme Souness lead his team to within two points of the Scottish Premier Division leaders.

Goals by Robert Fleck and Ally McCoist after 28 and 32 minutes gave Rangers a convincing victory in an invigorating clash in which five men, including Souness and new English signing Graham Roberts from Tottenham, were cautioned. Rangers, with a game in hand, have 38 points to Celtic's 41.

At Highbury, Nicholas, back as replacement for the injured Perry Groves, sent a 36,000 holiday crowd home happy with goals after 22 and 68 minutes — either side of a 54th minute penalty by Martin Hayes — as Arsenal extended their unbeaten run to 18 matches.

But Everton stayed hot on their

Division One										
Arsenal 3, Wimbledon 1	23	14	6	3	39	12	48	46	29	48
Charlton 2, Tottenham 2	23	13	5	3	36	11	45	45	29	48
Chelsea 3, QPR 1	23	13	5	3	36	11	45	45	29	48
Coventry 0, Luton 1	23	13	5	3	36	11	45	45	29	48
Everton 3, Aston Villa 0	23	13	5	3	36	11	45	45	29	48
Manchester U. 4, Newcastle 1	23	13	5	3	36	11	45	45	29	48
Nottingham 1, Liverpool 1	23	13	5	3	36	11	45	45	29	48
Oxford 3, Southampton 1	23	13	5	3	36	11	45	45	29	48
Sheff Wed 1, Norwich 1	23	13	5	3	36	11	45	45	29	48
Wid. 1, Manchester C 1	23	13	5	3	36	11	45	45	29	48
West Ham 4, Leicester 1	23	13	5	3	36	11	45	45	29	48

P	W	D	L	Goals	Pts
23	14	6	3	39	12
13	5	3	3	36	11
5	3	3	3	36	11
3	3	3	3	36	11
3	3	3	3	36	11
3	3	3	3	36	11
3	3	3	3	36	11
3	3	3	3	36	11
3	3	3	3	36	11
3	3	3	3	36	11

Division Two										
Birmingham 3, Plymouth 2	23	14	6	3	39	12	48	46	29	48
Brighton 0, Millwall 1	23	13	5	3	36	11	45	45	29	48
Cardiff 0, Grimsby 0	23	13	5	3	36	11	45	45	29	48
Sheff Wed 1, Reading 0	23	13	5	3	36	11	45	45	29	48
Sheff Wed 1, Crystal Palace 2	23	13	5	3	36	11	45	45	29	48
Sheff Wed 1, Crystal Palace 2	23	13	5	3	36	11	45	45	29	48
Sheff Wed 1, Crystal Palace 2	23	13	5	3	36	11	45	45	29	48
Sheff Wed 1, Crystal Palace 2	23	13	5	3	36	11	45	45	29	48
Sheff Wed 1, Crystal Palace 2	23	13	5	3	36	11	45	45	29	48
Sheff Wed 1, Crystal Palace 2	23	13	5	3	36	11	45	45	29	48

P	W	D	L	Goals	Pts
23	14	6	3	39	12
13	5	3	3	36	11
5	3	3	3	36	11
3	3	3	3	36	11
3	3	3	3	36	11
3	3	3	3	36	11
3	3	3	3	36	11
3	3	3	3	36	11
3	3	3	3	36	11
3	3	3	3	36	11

Scottish Premier Division										
Dundee 2, Dundee 1	23	14	6	3	39	12	48	46	29	48
Clydebank 2, Falkirk 1	23	13	5	3	36	11	45	45	29	48
Hamilton 4, Motherwell 2	23	13	5	3	36	11	45	45	29	48
Rangers 2, Celtic 0	23	13	5	3	36	11	45	45	29	48
Postponed: Hibernian v Hearts										
Celtic	23	17	7	3	41	11	41	38	27	38
Rangers	23	17	7	3	41	11	41	38	27	38
Dundee U	23	17	7	3	41	11	41	38	27	38
Aberdeen	23	17	7	3	41	11	41	38	27	38
Hearts	23	17	7	3	41	11	41	38	27	38
Dundee	23	17	7	3	41	11	41	38	27	38
St Mirren	23	17	7	3	41	11	41	38	27	38
Motherwell	23	17	7	3	41	11	41	38	27	38
Falkirk	23	17	7	3	41	11	41	38	27	38
Clydebank	23	17	7	3	41	11	41	38	27	38
Hibernian	23	17	7	3	41	11	41	38	27	38
Hamilton	23	17	7	3	41	11	41	38	27	38

Tottenham kept up their improved recent form with a comfortable 2-0 victory at Charlton. Belgian World Cup striker Nico Claessen opened the scoring after 15 minutes, and Tony Galvin added a second three minutes from time.

Manchester United, who have struggled for much of the season, also enjoyed an emphatic victory. They beat Newcastle 4-1 in front of England's top crowd — 43,304.

Luton moved up from eighth to seventh on 36 points behind Forest, Norwich and Tottenham. They beat a 1-0 defeat at Coventry. Former England striker Brian Scott scored the goal.

West Ham, who had lost their previous five league matches to Tottenham and Wimbledon, bounced back to seven by crushing bottom club, Leicester 4-1. Goals from Tony Cottee (two), Alan Dickson and Frank McAvennie lifted them from 12th to eighth.

BASKETBALL

Hapoel Jerusalem sack 'Simmy'

By KENNETH KAPLAN
Hapoel Jerusalem are hoping that the time-honoured solution of firing the coach to solve a team's complex problems will work for them during the remaining six games of the National Basketball League's regular season.

In the aftermath of Hapoel's dismissal this week Simha "Simmy" Reguer as head coach and his replacement by National Youth team coach Rami Kahana, all signs indicate that sacking him meant more to shake up the team than to punish him for the team's predicament. They occupy a precarious No. 11 spot in the league standings.

Of course, there were criticisms levelled against Reguer, but it is significant that the first comment by Hapoel Jerusalem's boss Ezra Balilus was, "We needed to give the team a shock."

"The change might help us," centre Billy Miller said, "but I'm not entirely sure that Simmy is responsible for the team being where it is today. It's up to the players, just like it's always been, though maybe having a new coach will get them up."

Reguer, whose fiery, almost hysterical sideline antics are well known to most Israeli basketball fans and all the country's referees, joined Hapoel Jerusalem mid-way through last season when the club were in the Second Division.



ORDER OF THE BOOK. Simmy Reguer must go. (Guthman)

"I have a certain sentiment for Reguer," Balilus told me yesterday. "He brought us up a league. But he has finished his work with us, he's beginning to lose control, we've reached the point where only a third of the players are showing up for practice. Reguer wasn't getting along with some of the players. It was time for a change."

"Simmy showed a lack of respect for individuals from time to time," one player told me. "Most of the time he was very professional, but sometimes he was too arrogant. Sure, there was some tension, but when you're losing..."

Early indications that Hapoel and Reguer no longer saw eye to eye came after Jerusalem lost to Hapoel Ramat Gan at their stadium in Yehud. Hapoel chairman Neta Eisner addressed the players and coaches afterwards on the team bus and threatened to resign in a thinly veiled move to pressure Reguer.

That game was followed by a win at home against Hapoel Eitan Gvat to silence Reguer's critics temporarily, but Jerusalem did not win again until their surprise victory over Hapoel Tel Aviv in the 13th round. Since then they have lost to Maccabi Ramat Gan, Hapoel Holon and Hapoel Eilat Netanya to go into the current league break with a 4-12 record.

Most of Jerusalem's losses to middle and bottom-of-the-table teams Maccabi Haifa, Maccabi Ramat Gan, Hapoel Ramat Gan and Betar Tel Aviv were made particularly painful by the fact that Jerusalem led by significant margins in all of them.

Blown double-digit leads against Hapoel Holon and Eilat Netanya also contributed to growing bitterness toward Reguer. There were erratic performances by Jerusalem's contract players Ricky Brown and Lamar Heard.

Jerusalem entered the league season with high expectations and even higher spirits, both of them the product of Reguer's work with the team in the pre-season. The blame for their disappointments inevitably falls on the one responsible for their high hopes.

"I can't change the team," Balilus said. "I can only change the manager."

ICE HOCKEY

Soviets clobber Canada

CALGARY (Reuters). — The powerful Soviet national team breezed through the preliminary round of the Calgary Cup ice hockey tournament with a 4-1 win over Canada.

It was the toughest game of the tournament for the world and Olympic champions, who broke through against the gritty Canadian Olympic team in the third period when Sergei Makarov, Anatoly Semenov and Igor Larionov all scored to break a 1-1 deadlock.

"They are hard to play against. Their skills are so great," said Canadian coach Dave Kind. "They don't give you the puck very much." Valeri Kamensky scored for the Soviet Union in the first period and Claude Vilgrain equalized in the second.

NEL results — Wednesday:
Buffalo Sabres 5, Chicago Blackhawks 2; Detroit Red Wings 6, Calgary Flames 4; Montreal Canadiens 4, Quebec Nordiques 1; New York Rangers 4, New York Islanders 3 (in OT); Toronto Maple Leafs 6, Winnipeg Jets 1; Minnesota North Stars 5, Hartford Whalers 2.

FOOTBALL

Strong defence helps Baylor to Bluebonnet Bowl victory

HOUSTON (AP). — Baylor's defence shut down Colorado's wishbone attack and set up Derrick McAdoo for two 1-yard touchdowns to lead the 14th-ranked Bears to a 21-9 victory Wednesday in the 28th Bluebonnet Bowl.

Linebacker Ray Berry, voted Baylor's most valuable player in the game, and tackle Keith Rose recovered Buffalo fumbles to set up McAdoo's touchdown runs as Baylor ended a string of three straight losses in the bowl by Southwestern Conference teams.

Colorado, 6-6 for the season, lost three of six fumbles and had one pass intercepted.

Baylor's recovery at the Colorado 20 on the second play of the third quarter boosted the Bears to a 21-3 lead.

Colorado got their touchdown with 2:38 to go in the third period on a 31-yard run by quarterback Mark Batcher, named Colorado's most valuable player in the contest. The touchdown narrowed Baylor's lead to 21-9, but Berry tackled Cameron Jones on a 2-point conversion attempt.

In earlier college bowl action, Rob Houghtlin's 41-yard field goal as time expired gave 19th-ranked Iowa a 39-38 victory over San Diego State in the ninth annual Holiday Bowl.

San Diego State's Kevin Ralston had kicked a 21-yard field goal with 47 seconds left to give the Aztecs a 38-35 lead, but Kevin Harrison ran the kickoff back 48 yards to the Aztec's 37. After two running plays and an incomplete pass, Houghtlin then kicked the winning field goal, capping a fourth quarter that saw the lead change hands three times in the last 4:26.

In the Freedom Bowl No. 15 UCLA routed Brigham Young 31-10.

TENNIS

Pam does her partying on the tennis courts

BRISBANE, Australia (Reuters). — American Pam Shriver shook off any lingering effects of jet lag to reach the quarter finals of the Brisbane Classic Women's Tennis Tournament yesterday with a 6-3, 6-2 win over Switzerland's Christiane Jolissaint.

The number two seed only arrived on Tuesday and missed the players' New Year's Eve party through fatigue, but she showed little weariness in qualifying for a quarter final meeting with 13th seeded West German Eva Pfaff, who needed two tie-breaks to dispose of American Alycia Moulton.

Top seeded Hana Mandlikova also had to fight hard against Czechoslovak compatriot Regina Zisneva, who made nonsense of her world ranking of 61 in the early stages before going down 7-6, 6-0.

Mandlikova will now play 17-year-old Canadian Helen Kestel, who beat American Elise Burgin in a tough three-setter Wednesday.

Another Czechoslovak, third-seeded Helena Sukova, needed three sets to beat Britain's Sara Gomer, winning 3-6, 6-2, 6-2.

In Adelaide, top seed Ramesh Krishnan of India beat Johan Carlsson (Sweden) 6-2, 6-2 yesterday in the South Australia Men's Championship. In their second round action, Michiel Schapers (Netherlands) beat Matt Anger (U.S.) 7-5, 6-3; and Bill Scanlon (U.S.) beat Bruce Derlin (New Zealand) 4-1 (retired).

TENNIS — The final stages of the 16th annual "All-in-the-Family" championships take place this weekend at Kiryat HaTennis, in Hadar Yosef, Tel Aviv, with play starting at 2 p.m. today and 9 a.m. tomorrow.

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TENNIS

Ilana Berger looks forward with hope

By JACK LEON
TEL AVIV. — Israel's new woman tennis professional Ilana Berger is riding on the crest of a wave after winning the \$20,000 Women's Tennis Association Vanessa Phillips autumn satellite circuit here, and then taking sixth place among the 60 entries in the just-concluded \$40,000 South African tour.

Within the space of two months, Berger, who has just completed her army service, has climbed to around 250th in the WTA's world singles rankings, which include more than 500 players. In doubles, she has reached the 250 mark.

For Ilana, who celebrates her 21st birthday this week, South Africa was her first overseas trip as she embarks on her career as a tennis pro. Born in Mexico, Berger will be the first Israeli woman since Paulina Peled a decade ago to play the game on a full-time basis and she plans to compete in up to 25 meets in 1987.

Ilana's coach is the former long-time local tennis champion Yehoshua "Shuka" Shalom. He can hardly believe the extent of her success in her first two ventures on the WTA tour. In the autumn circuit here in October and November, Ilana's dominance was such that she lost only once in 19 outings in the three-tournament plus masters series — she beat a dozen foreign opponents in the process. Her triumph gave her a place in the main draw of the opening circuit tournament in South Africa and this in turn put her on the WTA computer for the first time, her singles ranking was 350.

Ilana left for South Africa feeling that if she could win a round in each of the four \$10,000 events in Pretoria and the Johannesburg area she would be satisfied. Instead, she was a singles semi-finalist once and a quarter-finalist twice, bouncing back from a first-round defeat in the series opener against top-seeded local star Dinky van Rensburg (69th on the WTA computer). Ilana was unseeded and finished the circuit with six wins in 10 matches, with three of her victories against seeded players. In doubles she and her American partner Judy Newman reached the semi-finals once, and the quarters twice.

Berger admitted in an interview at her club, Hapoel Tel Aviv, that her cause was helped somewhat by the comparatively weak entry in the series. The competitors were mainly home players, with the international boycott of South Africa reducing the total foreign entry to no more than ten.

Ilana, charming and friendly, speaks warmly of the hospitality she enjoyed in South Africa, where she stayed with both Jewish and Afrikaner families during her four-week stay. She felt no tension in the Republic, though she was made aware of the current problems there and people seemed concerned about their country's image abroad, including Israel.

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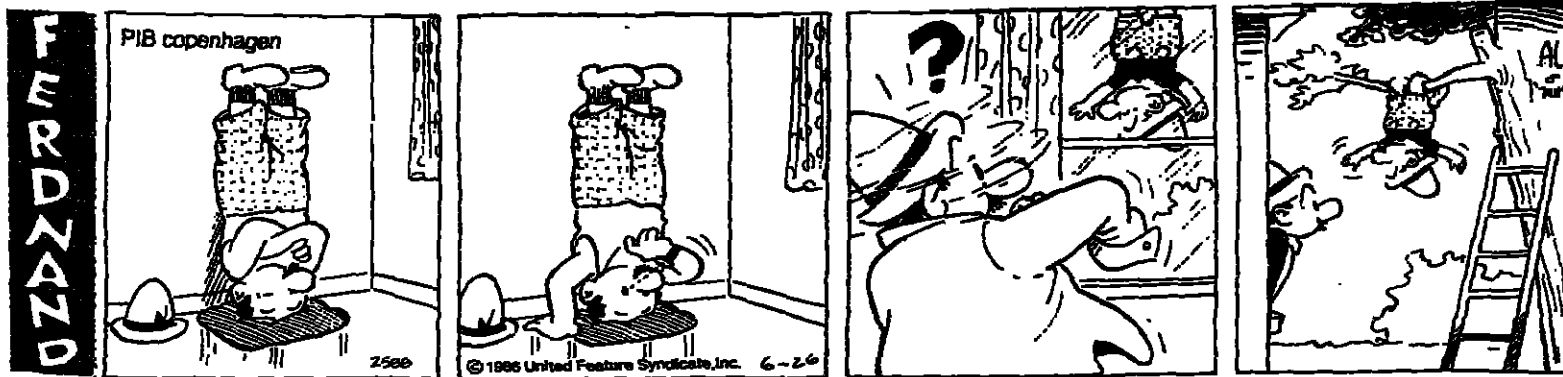
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Israel's economy and the question of choice

Once a refuge for the world's Jews, Israel must now compete against countries offering material advantages to attract immigration. David Krivine reports.

THE differences over the Treasury's economic recovery plan represent a crucial ideological rift between Finance Minister Moshe Nissim's liberalism and the egalitarian policies championed by his main opponent, Histadrut chief Yisrael Kessar. Once Kessar would have been in the right, but things have changed. Today Israel needs a new approach, says Amos Rubin, newly-appointed economic adviser to the prime minister. We have no option but to proceed on the liberal path, he believes.

In the old days Israel was a refuge for Jews craving a homeland. Needed were idealists who would build a society that could accommodate people with nowhere to go. The early Zionists were also socialists, and that creed suited the needs of the hour. The state created jobs for the mass of immigrants in *ma'abarot* (transit camps) by subsidizing entrepreneurs and protecting their output from foreign competition.

At present Jews on the move — from South Africa, the Soviet Union and even Jews in Israel contemplating emigration — have a choice of where to go. Israel has to compete with America and other countries offering material advantages.

Other things being equal, most Jews are likely to opt for Israel — including the many Israeli Jews now living abroad. But things are not equal. Old-time Zionists were concerned with ideology; their successors today are concerned both with ideology and personal fulfillment. The present-day generation seeks, apart from Jewish lives, professional opportunities and decent living standards.

THE DILEMMA this represents is implicit in the row over tax and other reforms proposed by the Treasury in their economic development programme. Newcomers require freedom of opportunity. In the 1930s a



Moshe Nissim



Yisrael Kessar

German professor would do whatever manual labour was available. It was enough that he was here. Today a man with qualifications requires an opening befitting those skills. The Israeli economy is able to supply such openings now — provided entrepreneurs are given room to breathe.

Don't they have the necessary freedom? Rubin: "A young Jewish engineer with an idea wants to build a plant — but where? If he builds it in Los Angeles, out of every dollar he earns he will keep 70 cents. If he builds it in Haifa, out of every dollar he keeps 30 cents."

"Some investors will not budge from Los Angeles unless Israel offers them the full 70 cents net. Others are fervent patriots who will opt for Israel even if the net yield allowed them is only 20 cents."

"But a lot of people stand in between," Rubin thinks. "They would consider Israel very carefully if the gap with the States were narrowed." By how much? "I don't know. All I know is that the narrower the economic gap, the greater would be Israel's attraction."

"The great majority don't demand the same conditions here as in America. The problem they face is how big a price to pay for living in this country. The question of price does come up every time because attitudes today are different from the past. The Jew has what he did not have before: a real choice of tempting destinations. Old-timers in Israel do not realize the implications of this new situation."

"The issue facing the would-be immigrant is not only how much he will earn in his new homeland but whether he can earn anything at all in the occupation he practices. The jobs are not always available because obstacles exist to the creation of work opportunities in Israel."

He continues: "Say a professional man earns \$3,000 net of tax in the U.S. and is prepared to sacrifice half of that income for the privilege of living in the Jewish state. As things stand it is more expensive for the Israeli employer to pay him \$1,500 net than it is for the American employer to pay him \$3,000 net."

"The gross outlay that the Israeli

firm has to make is greater than the gross outlay incumbent on the American firm, even though the take-home pay left to the worker in Israel is only half."

Consequently Jewish firms spring up in America instead of Israel. The diseconomies of the Israeli investment do not derive from any higher cost of wages or materials. They derive from the financial load imposed on the firm by fiscal and other exactions that Kessar and his Labour colleagues believe in.

Rubin does not justify the suggested tax reduction in utopian terms. "If you could bring Jews to Israel by force and keep them here by force, you could tax them as you please. But people are free to move..."

...income limit. People with big salaries are not charged more, which is unfair according to the Histadrut's own socialistic principles," Rubin points out.

"Challenged about this three years ago, Yerubam Meshel, then secretary-general, said that if he raises the fee higher for those with big incomes they will desert the Histadrut. They will join other medical insurance schemes that cost less. They would do in fact," Rubin concludes, "what *yordim* do when they leave Israel because residing abroad costs less."

"The kibbutzim are high-minded collective societies which have abolished money, yet their members want to enjoy the good life too. Young people finishing the army want to spend a year abroad, like other demobilized soldiers."

"All right, the kibbutz says, let them go ahead. But they need to earn money to pay for the trip. All right, they can do that too. Well, if they are allowed to work for pay, why not work inside the kibbutz?"

"The kibbutz ends up by paying wages to its own young members so

that they can buy at their choice something which the kibbutz does not supply." The lesson should be learned, that ideology is not everything: human preferences count as well.

RUBIN TURNS to the capital market. Here too there are constraints which had a role to play in the past but are no longer relevant. "An engineer in an arms factory is under-employed owing to cuts in the defence budget, so he decides to start his own business with a couple of colleagues."

"What he should be able to do is go to the local bank, take a loan at a reasonable interest rate, mortgage his flat as collateral and make a start. Till quite recently he could not do that in Israel. Credit was divided into dear and cheap loans. The cheap loans were 'directed' by the government to deserving projects and were mostly absorbed by big well-connected established concerns."

"In the last few months there has been a change. It is possible to get a bank loan at not impossible interest rates. If the young engineer suc-

ceeds, he will need to go further and may decide to float an issue in the stock exchange. That is why the capital market is being reformed, to make all this possible."

"But if capital stays expensive and hard to get, and if profits are taxed to the hilt, our young engineer will have a strong motivation to refrain from new initiatives. Better to stay under-employed in the big established company, which continues to chug along and will no doubt, should it lose money, go to the government for subsidies."

The old-time system preserves jobs, but no longer creates new ones. "The source of additional employment in the modern world is small undertakings springing up at the initiative of people with bright ideas, not big old companies most of which are busy shedding labour."

Nissim's plan requires the government to release capital resources by spending less. This involves cuts in defence and the social services which the responsible ministers say are damaging. Does this not create a deadlock?

Rubin agrees that the cuts can be damaging if the services remain unchanged in their present format; but do they have to? Structural modifications can be made which will ensure that the same or better services are rendered at lower cost.

"The trouble is that structural modifications take time. The system of budget discussions once a year is not the right framework for the institution of long-term changes. Budget makers try to cut costs now, yet the creation of improved systems may necessitate increased investment now in order to generate savings in the future."

"Perhaps the solution is to remove the subject of reforming the administration from the budgetary process. A public commission should be set up to examine the big spending departments one at a time, each investigation taking maybe a year or longer. Economies can be made that way without reducing the scope of the services supplied."

The present situation is not hopeless, however, in Rubin's view. Some cuts have been made in the last two years, after arguments, threats, walkouts and eventual compromises. Each time the reductions are not large enough, but they do compel the affected ministries to make economies of a sort.

They call him the Histadrut's 'bad guy'

Michal Yudelman

WHILE HISTADRUT leaders talk about negotiations and cooperation, he talks of fighting to the end. As Histadrut Secretary-General Yisrael Kessar meets state leaders, treading carefully not to disturb political dogs or shake the national unity government, he goes around mustering the country's powerful trade unions to prepare for a strike that will paralyse the whole country, if need be.

Haim Habelfeld, the Histadrut's Trade Union Department chairman, is the "bad guy," the one who's not afraid to admit the worst or to call Moshe Nissim "the most dangerous finance minister since 1977."

Habelfeld does not like his "bad guy" image. As top representative of the trade unions and workers' committees, he feels it is his duty to express his members' views. "If we don't present things in a sharp way, we will be failing in our duty. Yisrael (Kessar) represents the Histadrut's general interest. I put an emphasis on the trade unions for otherwise their point will be lost. Let me tell you,

many states would be happy to have fighting trade unions like ours — trade unions who are willing to cooperate and work together with the government for the good of the state, no less than for the good of the workers."

Habelfeld notes that the difference between himself and Kessar, who work together as a team, is one of style, although, he adds, Kessar can be sharp and harsh when necessary.

AS FOR the political programme, Habelfeld is proud to note that the Histadrut's position has not melted since the government decided to discuss the programme with it and the manufacturers. Moreover, the Histadrut's — and trade unions' — firm stand was the reason for the government's reconsideration of the programme.

"I don't know what people mean when they call me the 'bad man.' I don't represent my own opinions. The government was on the verge of approving the economic programme a week ago. A programme the finance minister was pushing as 'this is it and there's no other way.' Our stand started more wheels rolling

and finally led to a standstill. The government decided not to decide."

Habelfeld stresses that the official talks over the economic programme have not yet begun. The Histadrut, in meetings with Nissim and Vice Premier Shimon Peres, made it clear that as long as the present economic programme remains the basis for the talks, the government can forget the Histadrut as a partner.

Kessar and Habelfeld presented the government with the Histadrut's three noes: no tax reform as proposed by the finance ministry; no cutbacks in the health budget and other social services; no cancellation of tax exemptions for weaker groups.

Government hints that the Histadrut might accept the rest of the programme if a few of the tax exemptions are cancelled are wrong, says Habelfeld. "There shall be no talks and no progress unless Nissim retracts the proposed reforms," he says.

On the other hand, in exchange for stability, price freezes and a low cost-of-living index, the Histadrut is prepared to find a way of "living together" until 1988. "After that, who knows," Habelfeld adds.

The problem with the economic programme is rooted in ideological differences. "Nissim's direction, social goals, are unacceptable to us. He says there are distortions. We call them preferences. He believes all tax exemptions should be cancelled, letting everyone fend for himself. We say, the state must help the weaker individual. The state must give preferences to pensioners, disabled people, development towns, weaker groups in general."

"Nissim wants to change the way of the world, to increase social gaps, to strengthen the strong. We say — tax relief is possible without hurting certain groups. We have nothing against a 45 per cent maximum tax on condition that the state can afford it without taking the difference from the weaker, needier groups."

"He (Nissim) cancels the 60 per cent tax grade. We say, that's all very well, but why shouldn't someone who earns NIS 6,000 or NIS 10,000 pay 60 per cent tax when the state is in trouble and welfare, health and education services must be cut?"

HABERFELD REFUSES to comment on the funds poured into the

West Bank settlements to avoid, he says, the risk of being branded a "politician" or making political statements. "But I do say, no cuts in the health budget."

Economics, says Habelfeld, is not an accurate science. "I am no economist, but neither is Nissim. Some of the economists who devised the tax reform perceive reality from their ivory tower. Their job is to give ideas and alternatives. With all due respect, their programme is a theoretical model which just doesn't work."

The prime minister's economic adviser Amos Rubin, continues Habelfeld, said that the disagreement with the Histadrut and the workers' fears for the economic programme, were probably the result of a communication problem. "I told him, you can't explain to a nation, most of whom earn NIS 600 a month, that the programme is a good one."

Until now, it was not the government nor the Histadrut, but the employees and the low paid who shouldered the burden and, were it not for them, the previous economic programme would not have suc-



Haim Habelfeld (Sandhouse)

ceeded, Habelfeld asserts.

He points out that when Shimon Peres was prime minister, the economic programme also ran into difficulties when the government tried to force it on the Histadrut at first, and only cooperated after a hard battle. A Labour Party prime minister had it no easier when it came to putting one over on the Histadrut, implies Habelfeld.

The problem is not Labour versus Likud, although Peres was more involved in economics as prime

minister than Yitzhak Shamir, and the prime minister's involvement carried a lot of weight, he recalls.

Habelfeld denies the allegation that the Histadrut would accept the economic programme if the government helped Solel Boneh out of its financial crisis. "We shall give nothing in return for help to Solel Boneh. If we don't get help, we'll find it somewhere else. However, we did not ask the government for financial aid but for a spreading out of debts, just like the government did for private contractors and plans to do for (Herut activist) hotelier Haim Shiff. The fact that until now the government has refused to do the same for Solel Boneh is the reason for the increase in debts and interest rates."

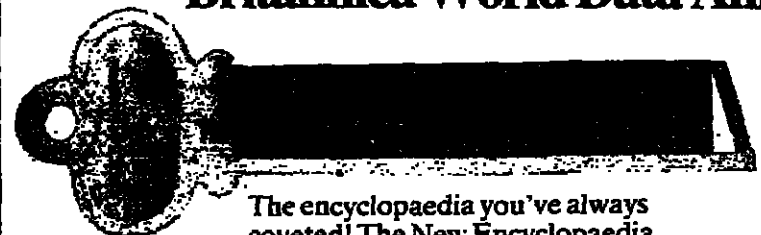
The bottom line, says Habelfeld, is that the country's economy cannot be run without cooperation with the manufacturers and the Histadrut.

At present, there is deadlock over the proposal. Unless Nissim retreats from some of the programme's main points, the Histadrut will not even begin negotiations. Meanwhile, warns Habelfeld, if any group of workers is harmed in any way, the trade union is prepared to impose sanctions and strikes. "Don't forget, we held a one-day strike when Shimon (Peres) was prime minister. We would not want to reach that stage this time," says Habelfeld.

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VAT in Greece pushes up prices

ATHENS. — Greece introduced value added tax (VAT) on goods and services yesterday and official figures show that most prices will rise.

Finance ministry figures show VAT will range from six per cent on widely-consumed goods such as dairy products and wine to 18 per cent on items like soap and textiles and 36 per cent on luxuries such as cigarettes, cosmetics and coffee.

Ministry officials said that although the tax was formally introduced yesterday, it will not become effective until February when a three-month price freeze imposed by the Socialist government comes to an end.

The government, which is half way through a tough economic austerity programme designed to cut Greece's record current account deficit and huge foreign debts, froze the prices of all home-produced and imported goods in November until January 31.

The Socialists said one reason for the freeze was that prices had begun to rise in anticipation of VAT.

Greece should have introduced VAT when it joined the European Community (EC) in 1981 but it twice postponed the trading group to allow it to postpone bringing in the tax until this year, saying its economy was too weak. (Reuters)

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MARKET PLACE

PINHAS LANDAU

Ring out more of the old

Let's get back to 1986. The figures that the Tel Aviv Stock Exchange used at its end-of-year press conference earlier this week were not exact, as they were several days old even when presented. But this detail cannot change the basic picture: By every important measure of activity, 1986 was a much better year than 1985. That is not saying much, since 1985 and the preceding year were both disastrous in terms of turnover, new issues and so forth, while in the matter of direction they represented mildly positive up years after the unprecedented – and probably unrepeatable – slaughter of 1983.

The clear uptrend is very nice when expressed in percentage gains over the previous year, but in absolute terms the amounts involved are still quite puny. That is why it is necessary to look beyond the bald figures in order to obtain a firm justification for the optimistic feeling that now exists in and around the exchange, about the direction of prices and, more importantly, about the ability of the Tase as an institution to play a more serious role.

In the first case, the whole place has grown up. Granted, there is still plenty of price manipulation in thinly-traded securities by the kind of shady characters that used to dominate trading. But their dominance is rapidly fading, as the big institutional investors become more and more powerful. The gradual reduction of forced channelling of provident and pension fund money to government bonds means that these huge bodies are being forced to slowly increase their investment in equities.

The public, for its part, continues to display a strong preference for investment via mutual funds, and these are managed far more professionally than before; they seek to swim against the tide, thereby moderating the price trends. Another important development in the maturity process has been the new regulations regarding the role of share counsellors employed by the banks, which went into effect in November. A new cadre of bank-employed counsellors is beginning to emerge.

That these trends are already at work can be proven very simply. Although individual issues are still subject to irrational influences, especially if they are small, closely-held or otherwise illiquid on the market, the way different sectors behaved in 1986 shows that rational analysis is coming to the fore. Within the industrial sector for instance, the group that did best was the textile industry because it benefited most from the local and international economic environment. The index of textile companies therefore more than doubled. Electronics companies, by contrast, had a disastrous year, and their index remained almost flat at year-end, after being down in nominal terms for most of the year. Investment companies, with holdings in all areas of the economy, meandered slowly upwards, and ended with a gain of over 70 per cent, only slightly better than the non-bank index as a whole. Industrial investment, on the other hand, had a much poorer record, because non-industrial sectors like commerce and real estate contributed more than the industrial elements of the big conglomerates' portfolios.

Finally, we return to Yossi Nitzani and his predilection for computers. In the wake of the "big bang" in London, and the tremendous growth of the computerized over-the-counter market in New York, it should not be necessary to expound on the role computerized data and trading systems have in today's markets. Every one who is even slightly involved has the chimes about the global village and its 24-hour markets coming out of their ears. The point, as far as Tel Aviv is concerned, is that Nitzani is creating a technological capability for the Tase to be able to operate as a modern, if still modestly-sized market.

The data bank that the exchange has now more or less completed, and the move to gradually make trading more open – by allowing the public to react during trading, as was begun last year, and the planned introduction of a system of ongoing trading for the more liquid shares.

The exchange management has therefore chalked up two major achievements over the last two years, first under the chairmanship of Meir Heth and then that of Haim Steensel. They have done a lot to clean up their own patch, by making the rules and their operation fairer and by enforcing them more stringently. The weakness of the banks since 1983 has helped enormously, but the shock of the FIT scandal last March shows that the rot goes very deep in the Tase community, so the job can hardly be said to have ended. They have also made a great deal of progress towards ensuring that if the economy is to grow and the capital markets to flourish, there will not be supply-side bottlenecks at the exchange which will hold things up. The demand side – meaning whether there will be demand from companies to raise capital, whether through equities or debt – is not in the hands of the exchange management, the brokers or even the banks, but of the government. If it gives the green light, it looks like all systems go.

(Second of two parts).

Yager, Zvineri gets top Mizrahi posts

Post Economic Staff
Yitzhak Yager was named chairman of United Mizrahi Bank, replacing Haim Nedivi, at a meeting of the board of directors late last night. In addition, Michael Zvineri was appointed managing director.

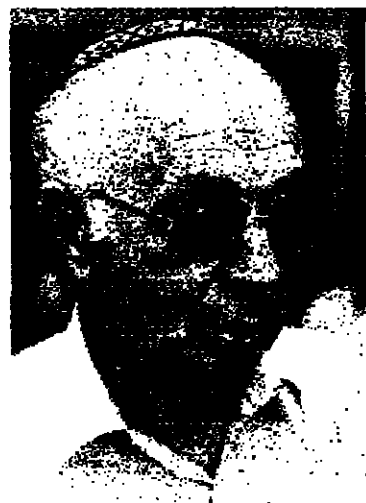
Zvineri replaces Moshe Man, who announced his resignation December 24, after serving as Mizrahi's managing director for just five months. Zvineri has been deputy managing director of the bank.

Nedivi had agreed to accept the post of chairman on a temporary basis to begin with, and his resignation, unlike Man's, came as no surprise. However, a search committee appointed last week to find a successor for Man did not have a mandate to find a new chairman as well. The exact timing of Nedivi's departure was unexpected.

Yager, who had been among the reported candidates for managing director, is managing director of Mishav Development Ltd., a contracting concern. He has also been active in attempts to reform the National Religious Party.

A brief statement released by Bank Mizrahi Wednesday night did not contain any other details about the personnel changes.

At the time of his resignation,



Yitzhak Yager. (Uzi Keren)

Man said he planned to return to his previous job as head of Mizrahi's Tefahot Mortgage Bank subsidiary. Man, who had replaced Aharon Meir last July, attributed his decision to "personal reasons." Meir resigned in accordance with the Bejski commission recommendations.

Mizrahi faces serious financial and personnel difficulties. In the first half of 1986, it lost NIS 7.5 million, the only of the top four commercial banks to post a loss in the period.

'Purchase tax cut will injure industry'

By SIMON LOUISSE

For The Jerusalem Post
TEL AVIV. – The government's decision to cut the customs and purchase taxes on imports may easily result in the death of industries in Israel, the Manufacturers Association said yesterday.

While manufacturers knew and agreed to the reduction in customs taxes when the free trade agreements were signed with the European Community and the U.S., they had no inkling that purchase taxes were about to be slashed.

Moshe Nachum, director of the association's foreign trade section said that Israeli producers of refrigerators, air conditioners, cosmetics and fine papers are most likely to be affected.

"I don't think Israel is in a position to open the market completely and fairly without considering the abolition of some Israeli industrial sectors," he said.

The combined tax cuts, which went into effect yesterday, amount to around 60 per cent for most imports, but the majority component of this 60 per cent – about 70 per cent of it for most items – comes from the reduction in purchase tax. This will apply equally for local and imported products.

The manufacturers say Israeli industry is in no position to face further competition from imports, it is being attacked on the export front by the effectively frozen shekel/dollar exchange rate.

The Manufacturers Association contends that the decision to make the cuts in the purchase tax was political. This will trim any increase in the cost-of-living index, enabling the government to show a lower inflation rate.

"In the long run, pushing demand by encouraging the use of more imports will mean a bigger balance of trade gap and this will result in higher inflation," said Nachum. "The government will gain time, but this is not a good step."

The simplest way to restore the industrial sector's competitive position, both for exports and the domestic market would be through a devaluation. However, the association is against this because it would return the country to the inflationary cycle existing before the first economic stabilization programme was introduced in July 1985.

Nachum said that now was the right moment for a "global economic policy" to be introduced. The trouble is the customs and purchase tax cuts and the new economic plan have been introduced by the government without considering other elements in the economy.

While the Manufacturers Association takes its sometimes ritualistic stance of opposition to the government's action, a number of manufacturers surveyed by The Jerusalem Post were quite relaxed about the tax changes. Most said they were taking a wait-and-see attitude, saying they did not have enough time or information to assess the possible impact adequately. However, some said they saw the lowering of the purchase tax in a distinctly positive light, acknowledging that it would lower the cost to the consumer and push sales along.

While the lower customs will have no effect on raw material costs, because duties for most of these items had already been reduced, imported capital equipment will be cheaper, reducing domestic manufacturing costs.

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Israel's banking sector underwent unprecedented change in '86
The year of the blitz

By PINHAS LANDAU

Post Finance Reporter

Some countries, when they want to emphasize a major event taking place, invent a nickname to use as a label. For example, the upheaval in the City of London two months ago was universally referred to as the "big bang." But by any comparative measure, the things that happened to the Israeli banking industry in 1986 were infinitely more revolutionary. They were surely entitled to some suitably bombastic title of their own, which would have reflected their impact, as well as the fact that they were spread out, and not concentrated on one date.

"The blitz" would seem a good candidate for the barrage of explosions that shook every department of every bank, and affected every customer – meaning the whole country – in one way or another. The blitz of 1986 rumbled on from January to the very last day of December, and it would be a fair guess to predict further bombshells landing before 1987 is very far advanced.

At the beginning of the year, a massive salvo of new ideas blew away one of the oldest traditions of the Israeli financial sector – that banks grant loans to the "productive sector" and not to consumers and individual customers. If it was Bank Leumi that led in developing consumer banking, it was Bank Hapoalim that delivered the last shot of the year in the corporate sector: It announced a \$90 million debt restructuring for the chronically sick Histadrut construction concern, Solel Boneh. That means Hapoalim effectively swapped one-third of its loans to that company for a parcel of real assets in the form of land all over the country, which the bank can now realize at its leisure, in the course of the coming years.

At one fell swoop, the balance sheets of both Hapoalim and Solel Boneh were vastly improved, and new levels of ingenuity and imagination reached in the handling of the debt crisis that has weighed on the major banks for the last few years. The chorus of Cassandra's who have been predicting the collapse of Solel Boneh, and the consequent dragging-down of Hapoalim, have been proven woefully wrong.

In between these events, of course, was the Dresden of the banking blitz: the publication of the Bejski report on April 20. Even for a society as inured to scandals as ours, the simultaneous dismissal of the entire top echelon of the financial community caused quite an earthquake. Perhaps fortunately, nobody stopped to note that no other country had ever come near such a feat – could not even consider it, probably. Or perhaps it was just that no other country had ever got itself into a position that made such a clean sweep necessary.

BEJSKI AND THE BOMB
The fact of the matter is that, like the fire-bombing of Dresden and Tokyo, the removal of the old guard at the tops of the banks was the best thing that could have happened – for those who remained, not for those who got hit, of course. Had the banks had shares in the normal sense, the time to have bought them would have been in May 1986, in the same way that fortunes were available to the few contrarians who figured out that the best investment

in late 1945 was Japanese government bonds, trading at 5 per cent of their redemption price.

As in the post-war world, the speed and extent of reconstruction in the post-Bejski banking scene seems to be in inverse proportion to the degree of destruction wrought. Thus Hapoalim, whose former chief executive, Giora Gazit, resigned immediately, and whose board was thoroughly shaken out by Hevrat Ha'ovdim Chairman Yisrael Kessar, was the first to announce a new strategy. It has since gone furthest in throwing out a lot of obsolete ideas and working methods.

At Israel Discount Bank, the revolution was delayed by the tenuous battle of the Recanati family to protect their management position. But when they lost, and withdrew to an important, but less influential, ownership role through the IDB Bankholding Corp., the changing of the guard at the top was perhaps more far-reaching than at any other bank. So far, Chairman Yossi Ciechanover and CEO Gideon Lahav, have not made major innovations, but these may be expected imminently.

Leumi, unlike both Discount and Hapoalim, has not experienced the boardroom shakeout that Bejski had in mind, and that was desirable from a moral and business viewpoint alike. Chairman Ernest Japhet was dismissed, to be replaced by longtime board member Eli Huvitz. Only Ernest P. Wodak, an unknown to the public Israeli industrialist, tendered his resignation thereafter.

Meanwhile, Mordchai Einhorn formally took over the management of the bank, which he had been doing on a de facto basis since his promotion to chief operating officer in late 1982. He has been promoting his own ideas and his own people within the bank with more freedom than when Japhet was still there. But the sense of continuity is much greater at Leumi than at Hapoalim – something that has both advantages and disadvantages.

At United Mizrahi Bank, the failure of departing CEO Aharon Meir to leave behind an undisputed successor has dogged the bank. Moshe Man came, saw, but unlike Julius Caesar didn't conquer even the internal opposition, let alone the other problems facing the bank. He gave up last week – the wrong Man for the job, quipped one wag – and the year ended with Mizrahi's board appointing Meir's long-serving lieutenant, Michael Zvineri, as the new CEO. For good measure, the board gave itself a new chairman, Yitzhak Yager of the Mishav Development Co. But the "assetless" atmosphere at Mizrahi is the best proof that the quick, decisive approach is the best, for the people involved and certainly for the institution concerned.

Coincidentally, the past year saw a change at First International as well, although that bank was not involved in the bank share scandal and was given a clean bill of health by the Bejski report. Ziad Bino, the man credited with primary responsibility for the bank's stunning success in recent years, moved from managing director, a post he had held seven years, to the chairman. His protégé, Shalom Singer, was named in his place.

The removal of the old bosses opened the way for major changes in the strategy and tactics of each bank. It also made a permanent change in the perception of the role of chief executive officers, and probably not just in the banking world. The principle of accountability, which many of the dismissed executives didn't even understand, was laid down for the first time. The fact that the "new" men were, in almost every case, in senior management positions during and after the "regulation" years – even including Hapoalim's Amiram Sivan, who was director-general of the Treasury in the late 1970s and was in a position to kill the scam at an embryonic stage – gives this point even greater relevance.

Put bluntly, the "class of '86" is on probation. If they don't deliver the goods, meaning get their banks to produce decent profits, by the end of the decade at the latest, they will be under such heavy fire from within and without as to ensure their departure, without any commissions of inquiry to show them the way. What's more they know it.

VIVE LA DIFFERENCE: New men, new ideas and a different environment. That is the legacy of 1986. The combination of these three factors means that, perhaps for the first time, Israeli banks will become more than a bunch of Tweedledums and Tweedledees, with customers choosing which to turn to according to party, ideology, religion or proclivity. Already today, and increasingly over the next year or two, each bank is going to become distinctly recognizable by what it does, where, how, for whom and on what basis.

Consider this first on the strategy level. The banks are no longer competing for every kind of business, regardless of cost and potential profit. The current trend among most of them is to expand in the household and small business and self-employed sectors. This stems from the realization that the economy is unlikely to grow much in the coming years, and that most of whatever growth there is will come from small firms, services, and increased private consumption. By extension, they are hopelessly overexposed to their traditional borrowers in industry, agriculture, construction, and central and local government in all its forms.

They are thus trying to diversify as quickly as possible into the retail sector, meaning having many small customers instead of relatively few big ones. Since this approach represents different things to different banks – to Hapoalim it is a conceptual revolution, to Discount and First International an extension of what they have always done – the results are diverse and sometimes surprising.

In the corporate sector, too, new ideas are desperately needed. Not only are the banks obliged to find new sources of profit to help them overcome the junk heaps they have accumulated from decades of wrong-headed lending policies and giving in to the government, they now face the daunting prospect of foreign competition.

This comes in two forms. Israeli companies can go to foreign capital markets, as Koor Industries Ltd. did when it floated a \$105m. junk bond in mid-year in New York, causing purple fits at Hapoalim. Or they can

bring the foreigners to them, as Israel Chemicals Ltd. did by borrowing from a consortium of foreign banks led by Bankers' Trust.

It is against this background that this week's Bank Hapoalim/Solel Boneh restructuring should be seen. The bank that gets rid of its accumulated deadweight most quickly and efficiently is going to be way ahead in the race for higher profits. However, fast consumer lending grows it will remain peripheral for the foreseeable future, because its starting point a year ago was effectively zero per cent of total bank lending. The crucial sector will therefore be corporate lending.

The sorry state of Israeli corporations, and the fact that the banks are up to their teeth with loans to them, inevitably leads to the idea of increasing foreign lending. Hapoalim, again, has gone public with its intention of expanding its overseas activities, in particular trying to encourage each foreign branch to become involved in its local economy, and not rely so much on Israeli companies and Israel-oriented business. This sounds fine on paper, but is rather harder to realize than enunciate.

SHUT, FIRE, AND DESTROY? Building up new business and thus increasing income is clearly very tough. But the other side of the equation – to cut costs – is not much easier.

The erosion of wages, however, cannot go on. Morale in both the branches and the head office departments is too low. If the banks are serious about training new cadres of advisers, analysts and managers to handle the more sophisticated kind of services they are seeking to introduce, they will have to pay them. That means that many fewer staff will have to divide up a shrinking total wage-packet between them.

The episode of the Globerson report on bank salaries, inflated and farcical as its figures and the reaction to them became, also served a useful purpose. It catalyzed the process of cutting the number of senior executives and of reducing the pay of those who remain. But this, too, is ultimately self-defeating. Most senior bankers, especially at Hapoalim and Mizrahi, are paid far too little, not far too much. Over the next decade, the banks are going to engage in desperate competition for the limited pool of talent available. If they tie their hands before they start the fight, they may as well forget it.

The changes in the capital market that were begun in 1986 and that are set to continue this year – and that go under the loose title of "capital market reform" – represent the next major challenge to the banks and their new leadership. They also represent a tremendous opportunity.

The more reform there will be, the more of their traditional business the banks stand to lose. By extension, therefore, the quicker they can develop new lines of business, the better they will adapt, while the quicker they can work off their "hangovers" the fewer problems this reform process will cause them.

It means competing with the local equity and bond markets, with the possibility of raising share and debt capital abroad, and with foreign banks poaching on their turf. It also means developing broader financial services, beyond mere borrowing and lending.

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Victims of choice

THE BOASTFUL announcement in Beirut by the Shi'ite "Organization of the Oppressed of the World" that it "executed" three kidnapped hostages, members of the tiny Lebanese Jewish community, in retaliation for Israel's refusal to pull out of southern Lebanon and for its attacks "on our people in occupied Palestine," still lacks confirmation. But the odds are on its being based on fact.

Premier Yitzhak Shamir, in any case, has already vowed punishment for the base murderers. The threat raises in all its acuteness the question of the proper extent of the Jewish state's commitment to the defence of Jews abroad.

The three murdered Jews - Henry Men, Elie Srour and Yusef Yehuda Benesi - were private persons. The allegation that they were agents of the Mossad is preposterous. The last agents the Mossad would have recruited in Lebanon are local Jews. The unfortunate trio are simply Jews who, ignoring all warnings about the fate that awaits them in the vipers' nest that is Lebanon today, decided to stick it out there.

That, of course, was their right, whatever their reasons. Israel cannot posthumously fault them for anything but suicidal folly. But this country, which was unable to save them from their brutal assassination, is under no obligation to risk the loss of a single man to avenge it. Even if in hope - probably vain - of deterring further kidnappings and killings of Lebanese Jews.

When the IDF was in occupation of southern Lebanon it helped evacuate Jews from Tyre and Sidon to safety. Such help should today also be extended, if need be, to Lebanese Jews who wish to save themselves, although it does not seem that flight from Lebanon is the problem. But that is the extent of Israel's obligation.

A larger community of Jews - some 20,000 strong - still lives in Iran, patron of the Shi'ite terrorists in Lebanon. About half of them are in fact former escapees from the Khomeini regime who went back to Teheran and Tabriz. The recent wave of persecutions which chased several hundred Iranian Jews out of the country, has apparently left the rest of them unharmed. They, too, are determined to stick it out through thick and thin, hoping to reap profit in the end.

They, too, are entitled to their folly. But the protection of these Jews cannot by any stretch of the imagination be deemed to be Israel's national duty; and it is strange that only the feeblest of official denials was issued in Jerusalem when a cabinet minister claimed that one reason for this country's participation in the arms-for-Iran deal was to succour Iranian Jews. Jews who feel unsafe in Iran should leave it, and still can - even if less easily than before. Israel's doors are certainly open for their arrival.

Soviet Jews are in a totally different category. A large number of them want out, although not necessarily to Israel. The best that can be said for the new Soviet regulations on emigration, which went into effect yesterday, is, however, that they will not make it any easier for Jews to leave. For all its formal adherence to the principle of freedom of emigration, the Soviet Union remains a prison for all those - not least Jews - who seek freedom outside its borders.

As a member of the western community of nations, Israel is committed to free emigration unencumbered - as it is in the Soviet practice - by restrictions that make a mockery of the avowed principle.

But Israel's national obligation is confined to making it possible for Soviet Jews to come to their ancestral homeland. As matters stand, it is only the "invitations" sent to them by family members in Israel that enable Soviet Jews to even seek emigration, through family reunification. If a general right of Soviet citizens to emigrate is to be established, the right context for it is the superpower dialogue.

Mr. Shamir has already made it clear that Israel does not propose to serve as a sacrificial lamb in a hopeless anti-communist fight to draw Soviet Jews to America. But perhaps stronger language may be necessary to get the drones off Israel's back who keep prodding it to, in effect, join a latter-day Crusade against the "evil empire," in the name of free emigration.

GSS

(Continued from Page One)
outside the framework of the GSS and their motives were portrayed as dishonourable. Their names were besmirched both outside and inside [the GSS] and in front of the younger servicemen whom they had educated and guided for many years. They also paid an unfair price, a price that should not be exacted in a just and self-respecting society. This situation, of course, is intolerable.

The letter adds: "It emerged from the report that those who had exposed the scandal had spoken the truth and their complaints were corroborated. There is no doubt that the investigation of the affair was crucial to the future functioning of the Shin Bet."

The three senior officers - former deputy Shin Bet head Reuven Hazak, Peleg Radai and Rafi Malka - were forced to leave by Shamir. But Malka was reinstated following a High Court decision. (He has re-

portedly since been pressured to leave again.)

Karp says the officers should be reinstated, not only for their personal good but in the interests of state institutions and the general public. "This could be of particular importance for the Shin Bet, as a sine qua non for its rehabilitation, for the drawing of crucial conclusions, and for its proper operation."

The attorney-general, by nature of his position, should support people who have the courage to take such steps, even if society is not yet able to support them in speaking out, Karp continues. This should be done "out of recognition... [of the fact] that, without people like this, the rule of law cannot prevail."

Karp concludes: "In my heart, I have no doubt that you [Harish] will know how to get those in charge of the Shin Bet to act as required, so that, in the case of the three [officers] justice can both be done and seen to be done." (Itim)

Ministerial irresponsibility

Yosef Goell

THE MOST damning and frightening parts of the picture drawn by the Kahan Commission's inquiry into the Sabra and Shatila massacre of September 1982 concerned prime minister Menachem Begin, so befuddled as to have little contact with the realities of the war in Lebanon, and the then foreign minister Yitzhak Shamir who went to heroic lengths to ensure that he knew nothing.

Begin had the good grace to resign, with no explanations, half a year after the report was submitted. Shamir went on to succeed him as prime minister. This week's report of Attorney-General Yosef Harish's team on the police investigation into the Shin Bet affair has confirmed that picture of Shamir who today again heads Israel's government, and is entrusted with sole responsibility for the functioning of Israel's all-powerful security services, including the Shin Bet.

It is a frightening picture. The gist of the Harish report is not that Shamir had either known or not known what had occurred in the aftermath of the Bus No. 300 shooting in April 1984, or about the cover-up engineered by Shin Bet head Avraham Shalom. The report stated that it had unearthed no corroborative evidence to back up Shalom's assertion that he had kept Prime Minister Shamir fully informed of these developments all along, and that he had acted with "the permission and authority" of his civilian superior, the prime minister. Basing itself on Shalom's record of consciously thwarting investigation and judicial processes, the Harish report says that it is hardly reasonable to prefer his version of events to Shamir's.

Shamir claims that he knew nothing. This is exceedingly strange, for the entire country had known from the newspapers and from television that "something" had been amiss at Deir el-Balah. It boggles the imagination that the prime minister did not at least know what every newspaper reader had known, and that he was not even curious to get to the bottom of the mystery, as was his duty. It is clear from reading the report that, as in the case of Sabra and Shatila, Shamir had again evinced his penchant for not wanting to know, or if knowing, for not acting on that knowledge.

THE RECORD of Israeli prime ministers and of the services in this regard, over close to four decades, has been remarkably good, especially when compared with the secret services of other democracies such as the U.S., Britain and France. Neither the Mossad nor the Shin Bet have ever changed from being potential to actual threats to Israeli democracy. What is so frightening is that the failures by both Shamir and Peres have, for the first time ever, placed a question mark over that impressive record.

Moreover, that failure was not a one-time aberration. For the gist of

came prime minister, he was every bit as remiss as Shamir had been in dealing with the affair. He made every effort not to permit Shalom to report to him on what had transpired at Deir el-Balah and in the cover-up; he insisted on interpreting the report to him by the Shin Bet's deputy head, Reuven Hazak, as a cabal rather than as an attempt to blow the whistle on a rogue superior; and he then did everything in his power to prevent Attorney-General Zamir from launching an inquiry into the whole affair.

Both Peres and Shamir were wrong all down the line. Their aim - to shield the Shin Bet from dangerous disclosures made during an investigation - might have been admirable. But prime ministers are paid not for their admirable aims, but for taking the right decisions on matters of crucial importance. In this case, both our recent prime ministers failed miserably in performing a crucial part of their jobs.

That is what is so disturbing, and all the more so because it seems to have become a pattern among recent prime ministers. Israel has developed an array of very powerful, very effective secret services. As Shamir is so fond of saying, Israel has every right to be proud of these services which have protected the country and its citizens so well against terrorism and continued Arab military hostility.

It has always been obvious that the more effective such secret services become, the more of a potential danger they would constitute to the very society they are charged with protecting. In Israel, the prime minister alone is responsible for overseeing and controlling the activities of these remarkable but potentially dangerous agencies. The blabbermouths in the Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defence Committee have rightly been kept at arm's length. And even the politicians in the inner cabinet have been kept in the dark. Only the prime minister is in charge, and bears the awesome responsibility of ensuring that only one edge of the potentially two-edged sword of the security services is ever used.

THE RECORD of Israeli prime ministers and of the services in this regard, over close to four decades, has been remarkably good, especially when compared with the secret services of other democracies such as the U.S., Britain and France. Neither the Mossad nor the Shin Bet have ever changed from being potential to actual threats to Israeli democracy. What is so frightening is that the failures by both Shamir and Peres have, for the first time ever, placed a question mark over that impressive record.

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READERS' LETTERS

VATICAN'S DOUBLE STANDARDS

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post: Sir, - To insiders it is a known fact that the Vatican civil service still resists a more friendly relationship with Israel.

Dialogue and individual contacts with the Jews are allowed and even used to offset the lack of official recognition of Israel as a state by the Vatican.

Therefore, it is easier for the pope to make an official visit to a synagogue in Rome than make an official visit to the beleaguered nation of Israel that as yet has not been recognized by the Vatican.

After numerous conversations with Jewish leaders, including then prime minister Shimon Peres, New York Cardinal John O'Connor intended to come on a goodwill visit to Israel, hoping to improve Vatican-Israel relations. These hopes have not materialized because, whatever Cardinal O'Connor's good intentions were, the Vatican slapped his wrist even before he got out of New York City for intending to do something "that was against Vatican protocol": to "recognize" Israel as a state and Jerusalem as Israel's capital. So the cardinal, who had hoped that his visit would be a step forward in Vatican-Israel relations was left in the awkward position of defending or explaining Vatican policy. Thus, for Israel at least, the whole visit has become a great disappointment.

On his flight from New York to Amman, the cardinal was forced to defend the Vatican's official refusal to recognize Israel and its capital by stressing "that Israelis and American Jews should be more understanding of Catholic concern that a Vatican decision to recognize Israel

might lead to a massacre of Christians in Middle East countries." Thus, even before setting foot on the soil of the Great Rabbi of Nazareth he had turned from being an advocate of a needed change in Vatican policy towards Israel into someone explaining to his Jewish and Israeli friends why such a change in policy is not possible.

Thank you, Cardinal O'Connor, for the message. Many here had hoped to hear something else. After all, Cardinal Casseroli received Farouk Kaddoumi of the PLO who was then welcomed by Archbishop Hilario Capucci at Rome's airport. The pope received Arafat and did not seem to be too upset that the PLO for years had been massacring Lebanese Maronite Catholic Christians. These visits were allowed by Vatican protocol!

But now, the fear of a massacre of Christians is used by the Vatican as a reason why they cannot officially recognize Israel.

What a lack of morality and courage by an institution which vowed to follow the Lord Jesus who, together with nearly all of His early disciples, was willing to die for the truth.

I come from Holland where Christians died in the concentration camps, alongside Jews, because they were willing to stand up for them. My Christian Arab wife is willing to do the same in her stand for Israel.

However, Cardinal O'Connor's visit seems to have deteriorated in that he is not saying much more to the Israelis than they already knew. They had hoped his visit would have brought a different message.

J. W. VAN DER HOEVEN
International Christian Embassy
Jerusalem.

MARRIAGE RESTRICTIONS

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post: Sir, - I am constantly confronted by occurrences that I believe threaten the State of Israel, but a Cohen marrying a divorced woman is a new one on me. According to Avraham Shapiro "Lost souls" - December 19, "Zionism cannot survive that!"

The fact is that Zionism can no longer survive the intolerance, reli-

gious coercion and narrow-mindedness exhibited by the ultra-Orthodox establishment.

I give my support to Shulamit Aloni who, although she admits that her solution is "not ideal," offers a viable alternative to those not wanting to submit themselves to the rigidity of the rabbinical courts.

SANDRA ZIAS
Jerusalem.

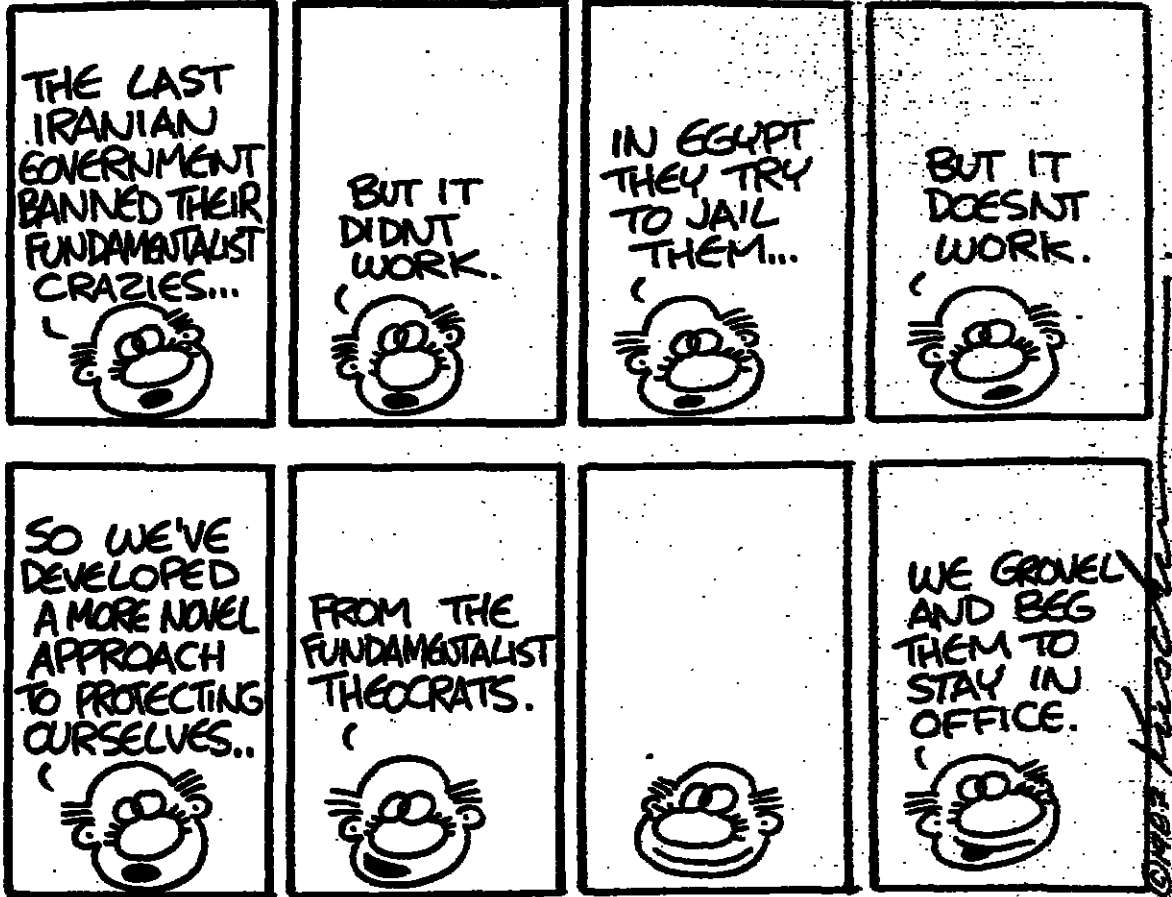
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The Friday Dry Bones



the Pollard affair, was also the failure of the political overseers of the clandestine services - the prime minister and the defence minister in the case of that dangerous spy caper - to perform their all-important functions of control and oversight.

All the evidence points to the fact that both Peres and Shamir realize the horrible implications of their failure to act and later, of having taken all the wrong decisions. The only heartening and somewhat amusing aspect of the whole dreary affair is the sight of Shamir and Peres clinging to each other for dear life, like Siamese twins. They are both insisting that the entire matter be closed, which is what they have been demanding from the outset. It is hard to recall today that at an earlier stage, former attorney-general Yitzhak Zamir suggested that the entire matter be closed with the firing of Shalom as head of the Shin Bet. But both Peres and Shamir rejected that advice.

A very serious price has been paid for the failures of both our prime ministers in the Shin Bet case. Perhaps the most serious is the profound undermining of public and security services' confidence in the premiership as an institution. Grievous damage has been caused to the Shin Bet itself, the very thing that Shamir and Peres claimed they were so valiantly trying to prevent.

But that is far from being the entire damage assessment list. The manner in which Attorney-General Zamir was forced out and in which his successor, Yosef Harish, was chosen, has seriously damaged confidence in that position. Morale in the top echelons of the attorney-general's office has been badly bruised and there are insistent re-

ports of a large number of impending resignations. The tipping point conveyed by the Harish report will certainly do little to ameliorate the crisis in morale in that office.

The fact that the president of the state was bamboozled into extending pardons to Shalom and the other Shin Bet plotters on the basis of a spurious claim of "by permission and authority" has seriously damaged the institution of the presidency. The fact that President Herzog acted so precipitously in extending those pardons, without making proper effort to check out the claims also raises very serious questions regarding presidential pardons.

The fact that both prime ministers and then-justice minister Yitzhak Moda'i participated in the process of misleading the president is also a very serious development. Justice ministers have always enjoyed a special position of respect among the free-wheeling politicians in the cabinets. But the Harish report found that Justice Minister Moda'i "could not explain the intention behind the words 'by permission and authority' in the request for a presidential pardon. He said that he had not been aware of the exact wording despite the fact that he had participated in the meeting that had drafted the letter."

DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER Peres, in trying for the umpteenth time to put an end to the entire affair, said this week that the electorate would eventually judge the politicians involved in the cases. True in theory, but it doesn't work that way in reality. The electorate judges by criteria having little to do with the quality of the performance of the leaders contend-

ing for its support. Assuming that our political leaders are truly concerned with Israel's security, they should act to adjust the system to provide effective control over the security services. They can fail in their duties like Shamir and Peres have failed in theirs in this case. Or they can fulfil their sense of civic responsibility and try to devise structural changes that would prevent the recurrence of failures at the top like in the Pollard and Shin Bet cases.

But it is not only structural changes that are needed. We must learn the lesson of connecting developments in one field with the larger picture of the way in which this country is governed and who does that governing. One of the horrifying thoughts to emerge from this entire affair is that a man like Ariel Sharon is seriously in the running, not only for the leadership of the Likud, but by extension, for the premiership, and its exclusive control of the security services. The most urgent lesson to be learned from these affairs is for the members of the Herut convention and central committee to think hard of the mind-boggling possibility that Sharon could be the man they select to control Israel's secret services.

Or, a David Levy, who for all his merits, is a man devoid of any experience whatsoever in the fields of defence, security or foreign affairs. The several thousand party activists who in effect choose our prime ministers, have some serious soul-searching to do in the light of the Shin Bet affair revelations.

The writer is a member of The Jerusalem Post editorial staff.

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